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THE BELMONT-BELMONTE
FAMILY

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THE
BELMONT-BELMONTE FAMILY

A RECORD OF FOUR HUNDRED YEARS

Put together from the Original Documents in
the Archives and Libraries of Spain
Portugal, Holland, England
and Germany
as well as from private sources

BY
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INTRODUCTION



THE STUDY OF GENEALOGIES IS A SCIENCE full of pitfalls. It is a part of the larger science of historiography, forming often the basis upon which the account of peoples and events is built up. But the idea that history must be written for the sake simply of depicting the march of events and of understanding the forces of which these events are the exponents is one of comparatively recent date.

In former times history was written with a tendency. Its object was to exalt the one, to depreciate the other, whether these were men or combinations of men. In a similar manner genealogies were written for the purpose of proving something, of showing a line of descent in the interest of some one branch or other of a family, for upon such proof depended the right to bear a certain title, to enter into the ranks of a certain order. The real student, however, must have no such object in view. He must pick his way through the mazes and entanglements that surmount his path with the one object in mind, to get at the truth; and when actual proof fails and combinations and suppositions take its place, he must frankly state them to be such.

Happily the student of to-day is placed in a more advantageous position than was his forerunner. Means are at his very elbows which were far removed and difficult of access in times gone by. Libraries are the passion of the day and seductively lure the searcher after truth. In olden times, it is true, family and state records were preserved, but often in an uncertain manner, in unprotected places and in indifferent copies. The spread of writing and printing, the daily mirror of events pictured in the press, will make the work of the future student more certain, even though it render it more arduous. Families are now more apt to seek and preserve a knowledge of their past. Municipalities and states treasure up their historical documents. The historian is so up to date that he is continually at the heel of time; the gap between events and their recording is, with few exceptions, a negligible quantity.

In the present study, however, we are dealing with the past; and, in addition to the difficulties which face all students of history, genealogical science has some which are peculiar and exceptional. In their infancy, few families consider their own history worth recording and preserving. It is only when some member or other has rendered them of importance that the idea presents itself that their early records may be of value to themselves and to the world at large. Then it is often too late to do more than gather up the scattered remnants which have been picked up along the wayside, the shreds and bones which have whitened in the sun and which a happy chance only has handed down to posterity. That which might have been the work of intelligent forethought has been left to the haphazard of chance; and chance, chary of her gifts, makes us feel at every step the wrong that has been done.

Nor is chance the sole enemy of the genealogist. For one reason or other, human effort has often come to its aid. Families have as often had reason for actively suppressing information as they have been neglectful in treasuring it up. One branch of a family, one member even, may be actuated by jealousy or some other motive and blot out the record of a neighboring branch or of another member who towers too high above the ordinary. The genealogist must continually bear this in mind. He must pick up the twigs which have fallen during the storms of centuries; he must gather the branches which have been ruthlessly cut off and thrown away; and when he has brought together all that remains, he must reconstruct the tree and give it new life and semblance.

In so doing there is one quality of mind that is well-nigh indispensable. No historian is in true command of his science who does not also command an active imagination. He may have gathered large masses of material, he may have expended most praiseworthy effort in so doing; but if history means simply the mechanical piecing together of dates and facts, the work of the historian would simply be that of an experienced mason and will necessarily fail at many a point. The true historian must be more than this; he must at the same time be an architect. He must not only be able to piece the various parts together with intelligence. He must bridge over hollow places, cover up fissures, supply missing links and make a consistent whole out of that which originally was nothing more than a jumble of stones. To do this, he must be able to see more than can the naked eye. He must look beyond his material and between its lines. He must recognize the reasonableness of

historical sequence and the probability of human actions. A single straw must show him the way in which the wind is blowing and indicate the route along which the thread of events is drawn. Not every theory is susceptible of absolute proof and this applies to historical and genealogical studies as it does to other departments of human enquiry. The vaunted conclusions of physical science are no more than wide generalizations based upon what is considered to be sufficient evidence and the doctrine of probabilities. The world accepts these conclusions as working hypotheses and is satisfied that the trained imagination of the scientist leads him rightly to suspect where he cannot prove.

The student of Jewish genealogies has to face certain conditions which do not present themselves elsewhere. A peculiar people, the Jews have a history that is not only peculiar but difficult to follow and understand. That, at an early time, they preserved documentary evidence of their past is to be assumed as probable in view of the distinct assertions in the biblical records.¹ Not only did the kings of Israel and Judah have their official annalists; the chief families in the land had a care for their genealogies, evidences of which are not uncommon in later history. This care was necessary for several reasons, but chiefly because in a hierarchic state, such as the Jewish one was, certain classes of the population had definite rights and definite duties in matters concerning the public cult. Notable examples are the priests and the Levites, who were bound by certain marriage regulations and to whom definite service was appointed in the Temple régime. Even among the Levites as a class there were certain distinctions, the Temple duties being apportioned to definite families who handed down from one generation to another occult knowledge of the manner in which these duties were to be performed. Events since the destruction of the last Temple in 70 A.D. have dealt ruthlessly with these subdivisions, so that a knowledge of their later development escapes our ken. Yet, strange to say, the grand divisions of the people have persisted. Not only is the distinction between priests (Cohen, Cohanim), Levites and ordinary Israelites preserved in the ritual that is still used in all orthodox and conservative congregations, e.g., in the summoning to the Reading of the Law on

¹ See Genesis v., 1, "This is the book of the generations"; I Kings xi, 41, "the book of the acts of Solomon"; II Kings xiii, 8, "the book of the Chronicles"; I Chron. ix, 1, "the book of the Kings of Israel"; II Chron. xxxii, 32, "the book of the Kings of Judah"; Jer. li, 60, "Jeremiah wrote in a book"; etc.

Sabbaths and festivals, in the Priestly Blessing given on High Holy days, but it is known and recognized by the people themselves.¹ According to the old law a priest did not dare to defile himself by contact with a dead body. To this day, a member of a priestly family, be he layman or cleric, will refuse to enter a cemetery.

The question of Jewish family and personal names will itself require some detailed explanation. In this connection it is sufficient to note that the distinction referred to above is emphasized in just such family names. All Cohns, Cohens, Kohns, Kohens, Cohnheims, Kahns, Kanns, etc., are of priestly stock; while all Levis, Levys, Lewis', Levysons, Lewisons, Lawsons, etc., are of Levitical descent. In Spain and Portugal the designation was prefixed to some Romance proper name, e.g., Cohen-Peixotto, Cohen Del-Monte, Cohen de Lara, Cohen de Azevedo. It found symbolic expression in the coats of arms. The Cohen de Azevedos had pictured above the wolf on their shield the outstretched hands, each two fingers of which are pressed closely together, which are the signature of their priestly function of blessing. The same is true of the Levys; we have Levi-Rezio, Levi-Gomes, Levi-Ximenes, Levi-Montesinos, etc.

It is also within the range of possibility that even more definite traditions existed in a few families, though all such traditions have to be regarded with a certain amount of reasonable suspicion. The question from which of the twelve tribes a Jewish family may be descended is one that has often interested students of genealogy and colleges of heraldry. The difficulty is narrowed down to a smaller choice than one would at first suppose. The capture of the ten tribes comprising the Northern Kingdom by King Shalmaneser of Assyria was a very definite loss. These tribes were completely disrupted; their national and tribal feelings were broken forever by the captivity of a large number of their most influential members, and the forced racial mixing which was a constant part of Assyrian *Welt-Politik*. They were broken forever and lost as a conscious group, despite all the efforts of well-intentioned though misled philanthropists to find their traces among the English, the Irish or even among the American Red Indians. It follows that,

¹ An interesting example may be cited. In the nineteenth century the rich Amsterdam family De Pinto — lineal descendants of Don Manuel Alvarez Pinto y Ribera, Duke of Chilveches, Abulleque y la Celada, Baron of the House of the King of Spain and Knight of St. Iago in Antwerp (1640) — made the demand upon the Portuguese congregation to be allowed to take part in the "Priestly Blessing," in view of the fact that they were of the seed of Aaron. See Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, p. 469.

in addition to the Levites, survivals only of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are to be looked for, and the overpowering strength of Judah forced Benjamin into the background. It is, therefore, in accordance with the real facts that the whole people at a later time received the name *Judaei*, i.e., Jews. For this reason, too, the lion and the sceptre, which occur as symbols in the praise of Judah placed in the mouth of the patriarch Jacob,¹ are such prominent features in Jewish art and in Jewish armorial bearings. In all the investigations I have made I have not come across the "Wolf" Benjamin,² and the only basis we have for attributing families to the tribe of Benjamin is the occurrence of the name Wolf, Wolfe, Wolfsohn, etc.

The peculiar fortunes that have attended the Jewish people since 70 A.D. make the task of following the history of individual families an extremely difficult one. Driven from their own land and not allowed to settle definitely in any other, they became the "Wandering Jew" of fact and story. Had it not been for the common ideal that animated them and the intense fraternal feeling with which they were imbued, the bonds of kinship must surely have been broken and the links in the chain lost forever. They had no ancient castles of their own where memorials of past days could be collected, no lands upon which generations of the same family could live and hand traditions down, not even any sure place where documents could be treasured up for the use of future generations. And in addition, in order to escape the fury of a society in which they were considered pariahs, they were often forced to dissemble their persons and their identity; or, wandering from one country to another, were able to do little more than carry with them a life snatched from the grave and a purse wrenched from the burning. Their sense for family history and their interest in wider family connections was, in a measure, blunted. They were dispersed over Europe from furthest east to furthest west; members of one and the same family were to be found in the most diverse countries. Apart from the Synagogue service, there was no activity in their lives where the knowledge of their ancestry or the fact of actual descent could be of any value. On the contrary, in some kingdoms ignorance in this regard was the wisest of policies. Very often the property of the overlord—count or bishop or king—the belongings of the Jews were at the mercy of this lord, or (as in England) escheated to the king upon the death of the

¹ Genesis xlix, 9, 10.

² "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf," *ibid.*, verse 27.

possessor. The family of the rich and the noble had thus every inducement to hide their origin, if only to the end of saving a part of their fortune gained in trade or received in heritage.

In spite of these considerations, however, one portion of Jewry forms a partial exception to the rule set forth above, those who lived in the Spanish Peninsula or who derived their descent from Iberian refugees. These so-called Sephardim—from a traditional equation of Sepharad¹ with Spain—have preserved marks of distinction which set them off clearly from the rest of their brethren, marks of distinction in the double acceptance of that term. Their forebears had come into the Peninsula at the time when it was under Roman rule. During the dread Inquisition days, many Jews claimed exemption from cruelty at the hands of the Christians upon the plea that their ancestors had been in the land prior to the date of the Crucifixion, and ought not to bear any of the blame for the act which was supposed to attach to the descendants of the Palestinian Jews of that epoch. The plea was of little avail. But the fact remains that they were among the earliest inhabitants of the land and that they did their full share in the upbuilding of Spanish culture. The coming of the Arabs in the eighth century was greatly to their advantage. These Arabs were Semites as were the Jews. They had a religious system not altogether removed from the Jewish. Their amity was knit in the bonds of a common enmity; the tale was even carried around that in secret they abetted and helped the Moors along their career of conquest.

It is true that the fortunes of the Jews in Spain and Portugal were not always of the best. Dark clouds of religious persecution often hovered over them and occasionally burst with fury. But there occurred no wholesale destruction and no violent dislocations such as were so often the lot of their Ashkenazic² brethren in other parts of Europe. They cultivated the Spanish or Arabic language, lived and worked together with their fellow-citizens and rose to positions of eminence and renown in their adopted fatherland. Down to the end of the fifteenth century they remained in close contact with the life and culture of Spain and Portugal. Harsh laws were not wanting. They lived, to a large part, in closed-in Ghetti or Juderias, and ever and anon these

¹ Obadiah, verse 20.

² i.e., of Germany, Poland and Russia; so called from the supposed equation of Ashkenaz (Gen. x, 3) with the Askaneoi or Germans.

Juderias were sacked. But though they were at times hard pressed and massacred, they were not systematically driven out or forced to wander. They were not compelled, as were the Jews of Middle Europe, to exchange their nationality every one or two hundred years, nor hurled, as these were into Poland, and Russia, only to be forced back again into Western Europe. They remained in Latin surroundings and acquired a culture, a dignity and a nobility of bearing which have not left their descendants down to the present day.

When finally the great catastrophe came and they were driven out of Spain in 1492 and out of Portugal in 1526, they carried with them their Castilian or Portuguese language, their Spanish manners and a culture that had been developed during many hundred years and which no amount of suffering could efface. To this day their descendants exhibit a physical type which is easily recognized, whether in Turkey or in Amsterdam, in the Barbadoes or in New York. In the Eastern Mediterranean countries their newspapers and books are still written in Castilian Spanish, though printed in Hebrew characters, and well down into within the nineteenth century the minute-books of congregations in Hamburg and London were kept in Portuguese. Many of these families had risen to great prominence, had founded, as it were, little family dynasties, and had in exile preserved jealously the traditions of a glorious past. It is for this reason that we find the sense of family importance and the consciousness of a certain descent much more developed among the Sephardim than among the Ashkenazim. Also in regard to family-names the former added to the simple Oriental appellation, "A, son of B," the designation by family-name at a much earlier period than did the latter, though they kept for use in the Synagogue the earlier nomenclature. These family-names, together with the traditions surrounding them, they treasured with great care and with much precision. Among the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam, of London and of New York such family histories and family trees are not infrequent. In the archives of the Sephardic community at Amsterdam there are many such documents, preserved especially because of the legacies which fall to the lot of many of the descendants of the rich Dutch merchants.

The Sephardic Jews in the Netherlands and the West Indies had perhaps an additional reason to care for such family documents, the fear of the redoubtable Inquisition. It may sound strange in this connection to give the reason; but it is true that at any minute it might

have been necessary for them to prove their Jewish origin. The Inquisition was organized, as we shall see, not so much for the purpose of stamping out *dissent* as for suppressing *beresy*. The Catholic Church had certainly no love for the Jews; but its chief activity was directed against those members of the Synagogue who had outwardly become Christians, but who either practiced Jewish rites in secret or were in danger of lapsing into their erstwhile error. The greatest number of the Jews burned at the stake or racked on the torture bench were the so-called "Cristianos Nuevos" suspected of "Judaizing." It was, therefore, not an unwise precaution for those who lived in countries which might at any moment feel the strong arm of the Inquisition to be prepared to prove that they had never been "Cristianos Nuevos" (New Christians). They, at least, were spared the rack and the torture on the strength of an approved genealogy. On its side, the Inquisition might develop its own genealogical tree of a suspect, and I have seen a number of such elaborate genealogies appended to the Inquisition reports in the Spanish archives. They were meant to prove the presence of Jewish blood in the past or a connection with acknowledged Jews in the present.¹

It is for these reasons that most of the Jewish family histories that have come down to us, or that can be reconstructed, belong to the Sephardic connection. Here also it is largely a matter of chance that certain of these histories have been preserved, either wholly or in part. Very often a whole family has died out, or its descendants have so intermarried into larger and more important groups as to have lost their previous identity or to have completely submerged it. Again, marriage into non-Jewish families has often caused the interest in the Jewish past to pale; and the documents which undoubtedly existed have either been wilfully suppressed or have been allowed to go to waste through lack of use. A mere accident may destroy them, but, it must be added, a chance-medley may save them. It may happen that, upon their dispersal, they fall into the hands of an historian or an antiquarian, perhaps, even, of a library, and are saved from being treated as worthless paper. In this connection it is instructive to note the fate of a large part of the records of the Holy Inquisition in Mexico, which were sold in the City of Mexico some thirty-five years ago for their value as waste

¹ Such a genealogical tree, dealing with the Almeida family, I have published in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, XVI, pp. 702 et seq.

paper. Thirty-three volumes of this mass fell into the hands of a Mr. David Fergusson of Seattle, who, recognizing their value, communicated with Mr. Charles Lea of Philadelphia, the veteran historian of the Inquisition, and placed them at his disposal. Another volume of the same lot was picked up by chance hazard in the rubbish of an antiquary's shop in Washington by the President and the Secretary of the American Jewish Historical Society and proved to contain matter of sufficient interest to form a volume of that society's publications.¹

We have positive proof that such genealogical trees and genealogical accounts as those referred to above were at one time in the possession of various Spanish-Jewish families—the Texeiras, the Suassos, the Pereiras, the Pimentels, the Aboabs, but their present whereabouts have defied all attempts at discovery. Either they have been lost, or they have been interred with other records in out-of-the-way places belonging perhaps to out-of-the-way members of the families in question. A few others I have been able to unearth in the archives of the Portuguese community at Amsterdam and in the Montezinos Library belonging to the seminary of the same community. Happily one such document relating to the present enquiry was found in that seminary library, and another, likewise of the greatest value, in the possession of a bibliophile, whose collection has now been sold and dispersed.

¹ Vol. VII, 1899. See also the charter of the Marquis van Montfoort, which was in the possession of his descendants and, later, of Dr. Capadose of The Hague. Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, pp. 427, 466.

THE BELMONT-BELMONTE
FAMILY

THE BELMONT-BELMONTE FAMILY

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM



THE PRESENT ENQUIRY IS CONCERNED with both of the larger branches into which it is customary to divide modern Jewry, the Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Its object is to trace the probable history of the Belmont-Belmonte family from its earliest beginnings down to the present day. The task was in no sense an easy one; the ordinary handbooks of reference left one completely in the lurch. Apart from a few stray notices in bibliographic works on Hebrew literature referring to such members of the family as had had a quasi-literary career, and an occasional reference to one or two of its principal members in histories of the Jews, the printed books were silent. After many old books and printed records had been gone through, it became necessary to search the public collections of various countries — the Record Office in London, the state archives in The Hague, Amsterdam, Brussels, Barcelona, Saragossa, Madrid, Seville, and Lisbon — to ransack the Jewish communal registers in Alzey, Amsterdam and London, and to dig up and read the stones in ancient Jewish cemeteries in the hope that they might afford a clue upon which suspicion and imagination might fasten their claws and gain a foothold for further investigation. It is quite obvious that because of the peculiar difficulties that beset the problem, however interesting a view may have been obtained of the fortunes of the family, such a view cannot be a continuous one. The family has played an important rôle in the various countries in which its members lived, but it has left very few records of their doings. We are, indeed, able to trace and suggest the general relation-

ship of the individuals to each other. But often their special relationship escapes us, and it is impossible to establish the exact degree of consanguinity between them. Further investigations and the fairy hand of chance may at some future time disclose what is now hidden, or a happy inspiration may guide the hand to piece the various parts together in some other form.

The earliest references in print to the Belmonte family being connected with the city of Amsterdam, it was natural that the first investigation should be made there. The Jewish community in Amsterdam has been in the past one of the most important centres of that people. The liberal institutions of the Dutch and their hatred of all forms of tyranny had early proved an attraction to the persecuted Israelites. It is known that as early as 1404 congregations or settlements of Jews are known to have existed in Holland; but it was not until the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries that these settlements assumed importance.¹ This period coincides with the rise of Amsterdam to the most important place among the cities of the Netherlands. In 1428 the city had been fortified and had also become a basis for the many commercial expeditions to the far-off Indies which increased so largely its commercial prosperity. This welfare was advanced still further when the seven provinces were united in 1579 and the final blow given to its competitor Antwerp by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which effectually ruined the latter city by closing the river Scheldt. Being a seaport town, the connection of Amsterdam with the Spanish Main must have been continuous. The Jews who were engaged in commerce in Spanish and Portuguese ports had already established connections with such important maritime centres as Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg and London. They did so, not only as a matter of commercial enterprise, but because they foresaw that they would be increasingly hampered in their business dealings and that the heavy hand of the Church, through its instrument the Inquisition, might at any moment fall upon them and force them to leave their homes on the instant.

When at last the Inquisition did succeed and was able to persuade Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in 1492 and Manuel of Portugal in

¹ Koenen, *Geschiednis der Joden in Nederland*, 1843, pp. 125 et seq.; Seeligmann, *Erste jüdische Ansiedlung in Amsterdam*, 1902; D. H. de Castro, *De Synagoge der Portugeesch-Israel. Gemeente te Amsterdam*, 1875, p. 2 et seq.

1526 to drive out the Jews, the better situated among them made use of the connections already established with their fellow Jews in the ports of the Mediterranean and in the surer harbors of Northern Europe and transferred themselves thither. It is largely from this time on that the Jewish settlements in the Netherlands take their rise. From the Netherlands daughter-establishments fixed their tents in the West Indies, on the northern coast of South America and finally in North America itself. Any Sephardic family of consequence will have some connection with the city of Amsterdam and will probably have some members still in existence there. This I found to be eminently true of the Belmonte family. Its record in Amsterdam is a most honorable one, not only within the bounds of its own religious community, but also in the larger circle of its citizenship in the Dutch state. Nor has it died out entirely; a branch still exists, that of the Brandon-Belmontes, but much wanting in the dignity and the position that characterized their ancestors.¹ I found that they were in possession of no family documents and that they had knowledge only of the vaguest kind that a family history existed.

It was necessary, therefore, to look elsewhere; and I turned my attention to the public archives of the city and the all-too-private archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community. The Dutch government published in former times two series of documents, one, the *Resolutien van Holland* containing an abstract from the minutes of the States-General (Staaten-Generale), the other the *Generaliteit* (called also *Resolutien van Holland*), giving a summary of the proceedings of the higher authority, probably the Cabinet at The Hague. Few governments have published their records in so excellent a form as are these. Of the first set, a huge folio tome of some one thousand pages covers the period of each year; but, though an attempt has been made to provide the later volumes with a sort of rough index, the earlier ones have none at all and necessitate a painstaking search page by page. Of the second, the resolutions of two or more years are comprised in each volume. It was necessary to look through these for a period of some sixty or eighty years, during which time members of the Belmonte family served the state in one capacity or other. A complete set of these printed documents could not be found either in the city archives

¹ The present representative is a W. B. Brandon-Belmonte of Kerkstraat 385, a dealer in diamonds and precious stones.

or in the University Library at Amsterdam; recourse had to be taken to the Royal Archives at The Hague. It was in these archives also that a bundle of correspondence was discovered, sent to his home government by a diplomat of the family, François de Schonenberg.

The Royal Archives of another country, Belgium, also yielded material. I had not the least thought of making an investigation there; but I was surprised to see that for long periods no documents could be found either in Amsterdam or at The Hague; and that no trace could be gotten of certain papers which must have existed at one time or other. The question once posed, a little reflection indicated their probable whereabouts. Between the years 1477 and 1648 the Netherlands or a part of them were dependent upon the Spanish crown. The so-called "Low Countries" had their own governor who represented the sovereign power in the Spanish Peninsula. It is necessary only to think of the infamous Duke of Alba to remember all the suffering that these countries passed through during the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. The seat of Spanish power in the north was Brussels, and many documents dealing with the relation of Holland to Spain are to be found there. No scholar has yet made any systematic search among these documents, and it was only the failure to find certain papers in Holland that led to the discovery of their real resting-place.

The great storehouse of information in regard to the history of the Sephardic Jews in general is, however, the archives of the congregation at Amsterdam, to which must be added the library of the seminary attached to the synagogue. Both are in an excellent state of preservation, and both contain material enough to keep an historian busy for many years and a day. The archives contain, in addition to the minutes of the meetings of the trustees, a most careful record of all the births, circumcisions, marriages and deaths which have taken place in the community since its foundation. Entries dealing with Benedict de Spinoza and his family before the great philosopher was excommunicated from the Synagogue for his freedom of thought, with Uriel d'Acosta, with Menasse ben Israel, the friend of Vossius and Hugo Grotius, the great advocate of the admission of the Jews into England, are only a few of the tidbits which the student can pick up. There is there also a manuscript history of the congregation, written by one David Franco-Mendes in the year 1769 and entitled *Successos Memora-veis dos Judeos Portugeezes e Hispanhoes de Amsterdam* which is re-

plete with information and which contains many portraits of prominent members and their families. The archives contain carefully drawn-up accounts of some of the distinguished families and a host of separate documents, copies of wills and bequests, which throw unexpected light into the most varied corners. In the library of the seminary there is an especially rich collection of portraits, of documents both printed and manuscript, and especially of works in Hebrew and Spanish written and published by Sephardic Jews. One would imagine that these places would be a Mecca for students of that particular branch of history; one would picture the pride with which the authorities of the synagogue and of the seminary would open up their treasures, glad in the thought that they were in a position to contribute something to the general knowledge of mankind.

Strange to say, the rooms are either deserted or hermetically sealed.¹ It is much easier to enter into the archives of important states than into those of this petty community. It has needed hours of persuasive talk to get sight of a manuscript or a certain book in the library. Knowledge of its existence has even been denied. In the end, when all other means had failed, presents and promises succeeded. Few outsiders have seen the inner sanctuary in which the archives are kept. The first time I entered, it was by means of physical force, the age of the archivist telling against the agility of a man one half his number of years. For two years after my first attempt I kept up a continuous friendship with the archivist's son. Upon his father's death, the son took his place and a little persuasion sufficed the second time. But even then I was allowed only to see, not to copy. During the somewhat hurried search that I was permitted to make, I discovered two volumes of notes and copies, documents which seem to have been the basis for the work of Franco-Mendes mentioned above. No one seemed to know of their existence; no one had said a word to me about them. It was in one of these very volumes that I discovered a copy of the brevet of nobility of Don Manuel de Belmonte. But I was allowed to copy only a few sentences. Happily, I afterwards traced the original to the Brussels archives and procured a complete transcript.

The difficulty of working in these archives is somewhat notorious. It has been mentioned in public print, and I have spoken somewhat freely about it to the archivists themselves and to the men in authority

¹ See Elkan Adler in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1904, p. 565.

in Amsterdam. The reasons given appear excessively puerile. The president of the Sephardic community had the childishness to say that if the material in the archives were freely copied, the archives would be depreciated in value. As they are not in the market for sale, the reasoning seemed particularly lame. The archivists assured me that one reason for their niggardiliness was the fear of succession difficulties regarding moneys left in the care of the congregation for distribution. As no charge of dishonest dealing has ever been brought against the officers, this excuse limps quickly after the preceding one. The real excuse, or rather explanation, of such strange conduct is, if the truth *must* be told, sheer ignorance. The Amsterdam Sephardic community has descended a good deal from its high estate; it has grown superficial. It knows that it has some sort of a treasure, but cannot value it at a proper estimate. In miser-like fashion it sits down upon the treasure and, insisting upon its rights, defies the world. How much of value for the history of the Belmontes remains hidden here, I cannot tell; but I found pretty full information regarding one branch of the family—in fact a complete genealogical tree written by one of the members;—and, in addition, varied evidence regarding other branches and clues which served me in further researches.

It was, however, by chance that I came across the most important source of information in regard to the earliest branch of the Belmonte family. An historian ought, perhaps, never to use such a word, for he reckons with chance as one of his chief assets. It is quite impossible to know beforehand which source will prove to be one of fine metal or which a useless mine of slack. It is necessary to bore in various directions, to heat different irons in the fire. We then call "a happy chance" that bore that has led us in a direction that yields something or that iron that answers well to the heat.

There lived in Amsterdam a certain D. Henriquez de Castro, a man of very large wealth, but who, at the same time, was deeply interested in artistic and historical studies. He had devoted a good deal of time and of attention to the early history of the Sephardic Jewish congregation, of which he was an honorable member. For the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of its foundation he had compiled a history of the community in its main lines, using for this purpose the archives of the community, which, for once, were placed at a scholar's disposal. His researches were published under the title,

De Synagoge der Portugeesch-Israelietische Gemeente te Amsterdam ('S Gravenhage, 1875).

The ancient burial-ground of the Sephardic community is situated about one hour's ride outside of Amsterdam, in what is known as "Ouderkerk" (Old Church). Here for centuries the members of the synagogue have found their last resting-place. But just as is the case with many other such old cemeteries, little care has been bestowed upon it. In orthodox Jewish quarters it is considered a certain sacrilege to disturb in any way the last resting-place of the dead. In this manner, the stones which were erect are apt to fall and those that are prone, to sink further into the ground. Grass and high weeds then fill in the intervening spaces. Such is the general character of the old cemeteries in Frankfort-on-the-Main, in Prague, Speyer, Alzey and even in New York. The old cemetery at Ouderkerk was not different. But it was the fashion in all the old Sephardic Jewish cemeteries to make use of covering stones lying upon the graves; no upright monuments were allowed. These covering stones in the Ouderkerk were most beautifully carved out of white marble and contained long inscriptions in Hebrew and Portuguese. There was also much ornamentation that was really artistic and, when necessary, the family arms were added. It was Mr. De Castro who rescued these covering stones in the Ouderkerk from oblivion, had them raised where they had sunk into the ground, and cleaned. Careful photographs were taken of nearly all, a goodly number of which he published in a monumental work in Dutch and French entitled: *Keur van Grafsteen en op der nederl.-israel. Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk aan den Amstel*, Leiden, 1883. This work contains a description of the stones that covered the burial-places of two or three Belmontes. The remaining photographs were deposited in the archives of the community, but there is no material among them for our present purpose.

It was to this Mr. De Castro that I applied for further information, and it was through him that I had access to quite a series of interesting documents. He had a very large and interesting collection of books. I was permitted to work in his library for some three or four hours; but he also eyed me with a certain amount of suspicion. He remained in an adjoining room, keeping continued watch upon my doings. But my coming at the time I did was a matter of some good fortune. A few months only after I had been to see him, Mr. De Castro died, and his magnificent collections of manuscripts and prints were sold at auction

and the documents that I used dispersed. I have made ineffectual endeavors to find out into whose hand they fell.¹

The documents in question have had a history of their own. They were in a large portfolio, and comprised a genealogical tree of the early Belmontes in Amsterdam, together with a host of little pieces of paper of various sizes containing notes and extracts from the archives of the Sephardic community. The whole was the work of a certain Mr. Isaac da Costa, a personage of some originality and interest. Da Costa was by birth a Jew. Late in life he joined the Christian Church, in the dogmas of which he seems to have been a fervent believer. He was a theologian and something of a poet. But, withal, he was a staunch Jew in the flesh. He had retained a deep interest in the past history of his race. He collected a large and valuable library, in which were many rare and precious Spanish and Hebrew volumes, and wrote a book in defence of the Jews which, in former times, had a certain vogue. It was entitled *Israel en de Volken*; was first published in Haarlem in 1849 and for a second time in 1873, was translated into English (London, 1850), French (Paris, 18?) and German (1855). In addition, he wrote a number of articles in the Dutch paper *Navorscher* (afterwards republished as an appendix to the second edition of his *Israel en de Volken*), in which he set forth the social position of many of the great Sephardic families in order to counteract certain evil-minded reports that had been spread in reference to the Jews. Da Costa's special interest lay just in these families. It is probable that few men were as well acquainted with their history as he was, and despite his conversion he seems to have preserved his intimacy with them. In the articles written for *Navorscher*, he refers often to private family records of which no trace can be found to-day. Many of the lists found in the portfolio must, I suspect, have come from a manuscript in his collection entitled: "Registro dos eleicoes feitas depois da uniao dos 3 quehilot (1639). Ms. 190, pp. 4°."² The catalogue continues:

"Ce registre nettement écrit contient un sommaire de tous les rabbins, chantres, parnassims, chefs d'institutions pieuses etc. d. Juifs Portug. á Amsterdam, ainsi que des legs faits á la communauté jusqu'à l'an 1821. On y trouve aussi une nomenclature Ms. (de la main de feu Mr. Is. da Costa) des chefs de famille et des jeunes gens non-mariés au dessus de l'âge de 13 ans en 1675."

¹ See *Catalogue de la succession de feu M. D. Henriques de Castro*, Amsterdam, 1899.

² i.e., "Register of the Elections held since the Union of the three Congregations (1639)." See *Catalogue de la collection . . . de feu M. Isaac da Costa*, Amsterdam, 1861, p. 97, No. 2476.

In these lists I found various references to the Belmonte family, for which he had a certain concern because his wife Hannah was a member of it. She was his own cousin, had been brought up in a Christian institution and with Da Costa went over to the dominant faith. It is surprising that though Da Costa gathered most industriously, a good deal of the material that I found in the archives of the community seems to have remained unknown to him. It is possible that he was making notes in order to write an article on the family, which he was prevented from doing by his death, which occurred in 1860. His library was sold by Frederik Muller in Amsterdam on Oct. 29, 1861. Most of the rare volumes in the collection were bought by Mr. De Castro, and this mass of notes must in such manner have passed into the latter's hands.

These various documents found in Amsterdam threw much light upon some of the later members of the family, but they left us in the dark regarding its origin and its earlier fortunes. It was, of course, quite evident that these could not be sought in Holland. The whole Sephardic community in Holland had its origin outside the country—as I have already intimated, in the Spanish Peninsula. It was, therefore, necessary to look there for any possible clue to the original home of the Belmontes.

CHAPTER II

DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH THE BELMONTES IN SPAIN



THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE Belmonte family is one which, at first sight, seems encompassed by so many and insoluble difficulties as to be unanswerable. Most of the great European families took their names from the places, townships or districts where in olden times they exercised certain privileges and prerogatives. In later times this practice was not abandoned, even when the rights accorded allowed the liege lord merely to collect the dues and taxes from those living upon the various estates, or even when the title conferred upon its owner nothing more than the right to bear its name.

At first sight it is quite evident that "Belmonte" is a place-name. Its form shows that the spot which it marked must be sought in some Latin country, Spain, Portugal or Italy. Unfortunately, "Mount Beautiful" is a designation that comes readily to mind, and which was often used. There is such a place "Belmonte" in central Spain, in that part of Castilla la Nueva called La Mancha and celebrated as the spot where Cervantes laid the scene for his *Don Quixote*. There is another Belmonte in the north, in the province of Asturias, and a third one in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa.¹ Even in southern Brazil there are a maritime city and a river of that name. In Italy there are three or four cities so called and a number of smaller places in Portugal. In

¹ See *Colección de fueros y cartas-pueblas de España por la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1852, p. 265: "Ursubil, Villa de Guipúzcoa, part judic. de San Sebastian. El rey D. Enrique II otorgó á esta población, llamada antiugamente Belmonte de Ursubil, el título de villa y el fuero de San Sebastian: su fecha en Burgos á 12, de Agosto de 1370. Citase en el Diccionario histórico geográfico publicado por esta Academia, tomo II, pág. 421."

the French form "Belmont," the name is found several times north of the Pyrenees mountains. The field of investigation is large and undetermined.

It was natural that the investigation should be set on foot in Spain, for from Spain came the many Jewish exiles that spread over Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century. A search was made to discover whether in Spanish archives any documents could be found dealing with persons or families of the name Belmonte. It should be observed that the name was apt to be spelled "Velmonte"; in fact the letters *b* and *v* are often interchangeable, as they are in the pronunciation of many Spaniards to this day. A search was made in the archives of the chief cities of Spain, Barcelona, Madrid, Granada, Cordova, Badajoz and Seville. The only documents found were in the National Archives at Madrid, where a gradual concentration of public papers has been going on for some years. Here definite assistance was rendered by the head archivist, Don Vicente Vignaud. The following documents came to light:

No. 1. (Estado—Leg. 6392. Carp. No. 34.) A letter of the Marquis de Castrillo addressed to Don Eugenio de Marban recommending a dispatch sent through his brother "El Conde de Velmonte" of the City of Murcia. The letter is dated "Madrid, Feb. 16, 1694." No further data are given in regard to the person mentioned. From the mention of the city of Murcia it might be supposed that the "Velmonte" in the title referred to the city in the province of La Mancha, to which reference was made above. See Appendix I.

No. 2. (Ms. Dd. 90. fol. 316 et seq.) A document dealing with the family of Don Juan de Pacheco, Marquis of Villena and Señor of the city of Velmonte. It seems that the parochial church of St. Bartholomew in that city had been erected by Don Luis de Acuña in virtue of a bull issued at Mantua in December, 1449, by Pope Pius II. This had been made possible by the influence and the gifts of said Juan de Pacheco, the funds for its maintenance being provided by properties which he possessed in Cuenca, Carthagená and Lugares. The marquises of Velmonte being the patrons of the church, an agreement was entered into on Sept. 16, 1548, between the Archbishop Don Diego and Don Diego Pacheco (Juan's son?) in regard to the patronage of the various offices. Some trouble seems to have arisen with the Inquisitor-General, the Archbishop Don Gaspar de Quiroga, and on Jan. 19, 1576, a

new agreement was entered into between Don Gaspar and Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Conde de Orgar, as representing Doña Juana de Toledo, Marchioness of Villena, Duchess of Escalona, the mother and tutor of Don Juan Fernandes Pacheco, her son. An official document was drawn up at Cuenca reciting these facts on Dec. 13, 1750. See a copy of the original in Appendix II.

No. 3. A series of documents in the archives of the order of Charles III, dealing with the request of Dr. Gines Maria Velmonte (Diaz) to be admitted to the order. Proof is given of his irreproachable descent and of his sufficient fortune to keep up the status of a knight of the order. The papers bear the signature, "Belmonte y Dias, Garcia y Lopez (Ginés Maria), Caballero. Belez Blanco, A. 1816. Exp. 1553." and are scheduled on page 25 of the *Indice de pruebas de los Caballeros de la Real y distinguida orden española de Carlos III, desde su institución hasta el año 1847, publicado por el Archivo histórico Nacional*, Madrid, 1904. This branch of the family seems to have lived in Velez Blanco and the ascent is carried back, in the Spanish fashion of such documents, to the seventh paternal grandfather, i.e., to the eighth generation. His mother's genealogy is also carried back to the eighth generation. The paternal ancestor, Gonzales Velmonte, together with his brother, Pedro Velmonte Suarez, were inhabitants of the town of Liettor (?) in the kingdom of Murcia during the year 1542, so that we have the family genealogy for a period of nearly two hundred years. A portion of the family, it seems, had already been ennobled. On fol. 86 we have the testimony of Gines Antonio Velmonte of Velez Blanco that his brother, Nicolas Luis Belmonte (the name is here written with a B), had obtained "de S. Mag^d (que Dios ga.) gracia de Hydalguia, sin perpucio de la sangre, que conzepto hasistia á la familia de los Belmontes, como apareze de esta carta executaria que con la devida solemnidad exsivo." The patent of nobility follows on fol. 89-121, given in the name of Don Carlos, king of Castile. It is peculiar that the branch of the family in Liettor is always referred to as "Belmonte," while that in Velez Blanco is styled "Velmonte." The document ends: "Dada en Aranguez, á diez y seis de Diciembre de mil settecientos settenta y dos. Io el Rey etc., etc." Then follow the patents of nobility of the sons Nicolas Luis Belmonte, i.e., Don Antonio, Don Alonso, Don Pedro de Velmonte Suarez of the city of Liettor in the same year, i.e., 1772. It will be noticed that several members of the family were officers of the Holy Inquisition. The

demand of Gines Maria Velmonte was approved on July 7, 1816. The genealogical trees appended to the petition (fol. 302) will be found in Appendix III.

No. 4. In a list of the members of the religious order of Santiago, the name Belmonte occurs twice; but no further particulars are given, so that it is impossible to file them in any of the Belmonte genealogies known to me. See *Indice de pruebas de los Caballeros que han vestido el Hábito de Santiago desde el año 1501 hasta la fecha formado por D. Vicente y D. Francisco R. de Ubagón*, Madrid, 1901, p. 41 (No. 954) Belmonte y Cárdenas (Juan de). Belmonte, 1693—*ibid.* Belmonte y Chico de Guzmán (Carlos). Valencia, 1887.

No. 5. (Estado—Legayos 3472 y 3474. Carp. 4a.) A series of documents dealing with a branch of the Belmonte family living in Italy and referring to the demands, made several times between the years 1706 and 1771, of the Count de Veintemilla to be raised to the dignity of a grandee of Spain. The count states that he is a Sicilian by birth, that he is a "Gentleman of the Bedchamber" of the King of the Two Sicilies, that he has held various important posts, e.g., Ambassador Extraordinary to the Republic of Venice, Praetor of the city of Palermo, and that he was a member of the highest court of magistrates at the time of the pest at Messina and during the war of Valetri. He styles himself, "El Conde Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia, Principe de Belmonte" as well as "Conte e Barone di Grattieri." His whole family, he adds, for generations have been devoted adherents of the Spanish crown, and his father (?), who seems to have borne the title also of "Conde de la Vega" in Castile, had been governor of Charleroy in the Netherlands. This father seems to have had some difficulty in satisfying the monetary demands of his seignory in Italy and was helped out of his difficulty by the Electoral Duke of Bavaria, who was at that time governor of the Province of the Netherlands, and who is also mentioned in the patent of the Baron Manuel de Belmonte (see below). It is true that the city Ventimiglia was in Sicily, but he had been created a count by the Spanish king because of his services in Flanders and Cataluña. The whole correspondence, which is carried on in the grandiose Spanish style which even to-day is not obsolete, turns upon the request made by the count to be raised to the dignity of a "Grandee of Spain of the First Class" (Grandia de España de primera clase). His demand is founded upon the services of his family, his own services at the time of the pest in Messina

and during the war, when he had the royal interests at heart, and he cites the cases of the Duke of Palagonia, the Count of San Marcos and the Duke of Resutana, who all had been raised to the same grade. The correspondence shows that he did not have plain sailing. It will be found in Appendix III.

The original demand was made in 1743. This was followed by an exchange of letters with the Duke of Villarias in 1744 and 1745. The request was repeated in 1765, the correspondence now being carried on with the Marquis de Grimaldi. It was answered in a negative manner, May 28, 1765. Nothing daunted, the request was made a third time in 1769, but again without any result. In 1771 we find the Count Manuel de Ventimiglia again besieging the Marquis de Grimaldi. This time he was successful. Letters patent were granted at San Lorenzo on Oct. 29, 1771, after fully twenty-eight years of persistent effort. His full title became "Don Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia, Principe de Belmonte, Conde y Baron de Grattieri." Even this was not the end. His request had not been granted all in all. His promotion had been only to a grandee of the *second* class. In 1776 he made further attempt to be raised to the *first* class. This request was denied on Dec. 24, 1776.

I have attempted to find out the origin and history of the Sicilian family of Belmonte in the suspicion that it might ultimately be of Spanish origin. Through Count Giulio Macchi di Cellere, I was put in touch with the present bearer of the title, Prince D. Ferdinando di Belmonte of Rome. He was kind enough to secure for me the following official statement emanating from the "Amministrazione della casa di S. E. il Principe di Pandolfina e di Belmonte":

AMMINISTRAZIONE DELLA CASA DI S. E. IL PRINCIPE DI PANDOLFINA E DI BELMONTE
PALERMO, 17 Giugno 1914.
Famiglia Principe di Belmonte-Ventimiglia.

La famiglia ventimiglia trae origine da Roberte Guiscard e di normanne, venute in Sicilia col Conte Ruggieri. Egli condottiere di mille cavalieri, in una battaglia uccise ventimila barbari e da allora fu separanominato Vigintimilibus, tradotte poi in Ventimiglia. I di lui discendenti furono i potentissimi Conti e Marchesi di Geraci.

Francesco Ventimiglia fu il primo del nome che per reale investitura nel 31 Marzo 1658, possedendo le State di Belmonte Mezzagne, territorio di Palermo, assunse il titolo di Principe di Belmonte.

Come vedesi, la famiglia ventimiglia è di origine puramente normanna, ed il Principato di Belmonte, sul territorio di Palermo fu conferito ad un discendente di essa, Detto titolo, quindi, non è erediando spagnuolo, nè, se in Spagna esiste un Principato di

Belmonte, può avere attinenza col titolo simile possedute da Casa Ventimiglia per sevrana investitura del 31 Marze 1658.

"The family Ventimiglia traces its origin from Robert Guiscard the Norman who came to Sicily in the company of Count Roger. At the head of a band of one thousand knights, he killed in battle twenty-thousand (Ventimila) barbarians. On this account he was named 'Vigintimillibus,' which name soon after became 'Ventimiglia.' Descended from him were the powerful Counts and Marquises of Geraci. Francesco Ventimiglia was the first of that name who, being in possession of the burg (State) Belmonte Mazzagno, within the territory of Palermo, by royal investiture of March 31, 1658, took the title "Prince di Belmonte." It will be seen from the foregoing that the family Ventimiglia is purely of Norman origin and that the title Prince of Belmonte (in the territory of Palermo) was conferred upon one of his descendants, so that it cannot be of Spanish origin; and if a similar title does exist in Spain, it can have no connection with that possessed by the house of Ventimiglia."

It is, therefore, evident that no connection in origin exists between the Sicilian de Belmontes and those of Spain and Portugal.

No. 6. (Leg^o 39 de Grandeza-Ramesa de 1899, No. 74.) Permit for the marriage of the Marquesa de Belmonte y de Jarandilla, daughter of the Duke de Frias y de Uceda, Marquis of Villena, with Don Tirzo Teller Giron, son of the Principe d'Anglona, Marquis de Javalquinto, in the year 1837. It is probable that the fiancée belonged to the family mentioned above in No. 2.

No. 7. (Cámara de Castilla, Sección de Gracia y Justicia.) A series of documents relating to one Don Mateo Belmonte during the years 1817 and 1836. There are also further references to Don Alejandro, Don Francisco, Don Juan and Don Nicolai Belmonte during a long period of years, 1614-1836, but the references are so vague and of so little interest that they have not been copied.

No. 8. (Biblioteca Nacional. Ms. Z. 55 [705].) A report by one Don Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas, official chronicler and king-at-arms of his Catholic Majesty Philip V (1701-1746), in regard to the descent of Don Lorenzo Fernandez de Cuenca Antolinez y Teruel, a native of the village of El Castellar de Santisteban (Sanestaban) in the Bishopric of Jaen (Andalusia). It seems that he was the son of Horobio (i.e., Orobio) Fernandez de Cuenca Antolinez y Teruel and of Ines de Belmonte Roa y Montaraz, also of El Castellar. This family originated in Fornos, where one Gill de Fornos is mentioned as the ultimate ancestor. The successors of Gill lived in Seville. From the "right line" (linea recta) descended the De Belmontes, so called from the village Belmonte (where the counts de Oliego had their home). Six leagues

distant from Cordova when Belmonte was captured from the Moors, Gill de Fornos received the appellation "de Belmonte," which he transmitted to his descendants, of which there were numerous branches in Andalusia. The assertion is made that the report is based upon the *Book of Arms* and upon other official documents in the possession of the official chronicler, but none of them are added. The report will be found in part in Appendix IV.

No. 9. (Biblioteca Nacional. Ms. Z. 84 [1895].) Evidently a report drawn up by some archivist or armorial authority with a view to authorizing the demandee, Don Ignacio Sanchez Bellmont Adam y Quadra, to use the armorial bearings of the various families, Sanchez, Bellmont, Adam, Quadra, with which he was connected either by descent or by marriage. Though the author cites such genealogical authorities as Don Pedro de Salazar Giron, Alonso de Santa Cruz and Lope de Badillo, he gives no documents in extenso, not even a genealogical tree, and we are dependent solely upon the word and faith of his authorities.

The illustrious Sanchez family, he says, is descended from one of a number of Gothic knights (caballeros) who in the year 714 escaped from the "barbara furia" of the Mohammadan invasion and took up their residence in the hills of Leon, Galicia, Asturia, Burgos and the Pyrenees. They took part under the Gothic king of the Asturias, Pelayo, in the battle of Covadonga (730 ?) against the Mohammadans, and then returned to the Pyrenees where they elected as their leader Don Garcia Ximenez. From here they passed down into Navarre and Aragon; one of their number was the renowned Rodrigo Sanchez. From Aragon they passed on into Valencia. Rodrigo had six grandchildren, to wit: Gabriel Sanchez, treasurer-general to Don Fernand of Aragon and Castile; Juan Sanchez, "a rich man and valorous," who settled in Valencia; Sancho Sanchez, "Baile General" of Aragon; Guillen Sanchez, grand cup-bearer (copero mayor) of the same sovereign; Francisco Sanchez, chief steward (despensero mayor); and Alonzo Sanchez, treasurer-general of Valencia. From these, he continues, descend those "who have taken the name in that kingdom, of Bellmonte, from which comes the line in our section which has its origin in the city of Orihuela (between Alicante and Murcia) and which, from immemorial times, has been known as Sanchez Bellmont." He asserts further that Andres Sanchez Bellmont, twentieth paternal grandfather of the demandee, was supreme judge in Orihuela in 1631; that in 1661

and in 1689 Gines Sanchez Bellmont occupied the same office, which passed on in 1707 to Juan Sanchez Bellmont. This Juan Sanchez Bellmont married Dona Angela Adam y Quadra. The legitimate offspring of this marriage was Don Ignacio Sanchez Bellmont Adam y Quadra.

In regard to the family Bellmont, which our archivist at times writes "Belmonte," he asserts that it takes its origin in France and that the only descendant family known in Spain was in the province of Navarre. From Navarre its members passed into Valencia, serving faithfully the Catholic kings and princes in peace as well as in war. The oldest member whom he mentions is a Don Luis de Bellmont, who—upon the authority of Alonso de Santa Cruz—fought side by side under Don Sancho VIII of Navarre in the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (July, 16, 1212), in which the Mohammadans were defeated. From this branch there arose—but no date is given—a knight called Don Juan de Belmonte who married in Castile Dona Inés de Mendoza, daughter of Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, a knight renowned for his illustrious blood and for his tried valor. She was the mother of Don Ignacio Sanchez Bellmont Adam y Quadra. The report will be found in Appendix V.

No. 10. (Toledo [Inquisicion de] Judaizantes, Legajo 137. Número 107. In Archivo Histórico-Nacional at Madrid.) This is perhaps the most interesting of all these Spanish documents, since it connects the Spanish Belmontes with the Maranos.

Of the twenty-five thousand documents dealing with the Spanish Inquisition and which were formerly in Toledo, Alcala de Henares, etc., the present document is the only one that could be found dealing with a member of the Belmonte family. The search can, of course, not be considered final, for even the indices recently published by the head archivist are incomplete, and it would take the work of many lives to go through faithfully all the material stored up there. I have spent many days consulting various indices and making haphazard digs into the vast material.

The story as told by the present document is as follows. In the year 1484, a lady by name Iñes de Belmonte ó Gonzales, wife of Fernando de Belmonte, was haled before the officers of the Holy Inquisition upon the charge of "Judaizing," i.e., of following Jewish religious and social customs. The "process" or report of the affair is given in the original in Appendix VI and follows here in English translation:

TRIAL OF IÑES DE BELMONTE

On the eleventh day of February, 1484.

Reverend and virtuous gentlemen, Inquisition judges of the heretical perversity.

I, Fernando Rodriguez del Varco, Chaplain of the King our Lord, Fiscal Promoter of the Sacred Inquisition, appear before your Reverences and denounce and accuse Iñes de Belmonte, wife of Fernando de Belmonte, resident of this royal city, and relating the case state that the said Ines de Belmonte having become a Christian by name and possession, making use and taking advantage of the pre-eminence and prerogatives of a Christian, thus offending our Lord of the Sacred Catholic Faith and in contempt of the ecclesiastic censures as well as of other civil and criminal penalties that she should expect when committing heresies and apostasies, the said Ines de Belmonte observed and celebrated the law of Moses and the things included under it according to usage.

It happened that the said Iñes de Belmonte, in celebration and honor of said law, lighted lamps early on Friday afternoon in honor of Saturday and cooked on Friday, fasting and ceasing work on Saturdays, dressing with clean clothes on such days, and on Easter she baked and ate unleavened bread which Jews eat and observed the Easter of unleavened bread, all in honor, solemnity and observance of said law. And the said Ines de Belmonte judaized and committed a heresy in other things, instances, manners and occasions by observing the foresaid while serving and keeping the others and in which case, as in the others mentioned, should be considered as a criminal and convicted, which I declare to be in the course of this trial and which must be, because I claim that the said Ines de Belmonte by rights is and should be considered as heretic and apostate; and a person who abides by the said law, suppressing the true one is offending it still more by not having submitted herself to the Sacred Mother Church, confessing her mentioned heretical errors. Reverend gentlemen, I ask and request of you that such heretic and apostate be declared and pronounced to have incurred in doing this censures and criminal penalties and to have lost all her properties, for which and for all that may be necessary, I implore your reverend and noble offices and ask that Justice be complied with.

On the thirteenth day of the month of February, eighty seven, the said Ines de Belmonte appeared in the trial before the gentlemen Inquisitors and answering the accusation against her formulated by the said prosecuting attorney, said that she confessed to all contained therein and at the same time added her own confession which follows hereafter.

Reverend and virtuous gentlemen:

I, Iñes Gonçalves, wife of Fernando de Velmonte, a resident of this royal city, in the parish of San Pedro, De los Herreros street, with profound shame appear before your Reverences to say and confess all my sins that I have committed thus offending my Lord Jesus Christ and His Sacred Catholic Faith.

Firstly, I admit my sin in celebrating Saturdays by wearing clean shirts and festival clothing.

Also that on Friday evenings I lighted clean lamps which task was assigned to me by Catalina Flores, wife of Diego Flores, residing in Almagro.

Also that I cooked on Friday for Saturday.

Also that I ate unleavened bread sometimes, it being given to me by the said

Catalina Flores, and afterward I ate it twice more because it was made by myself and a sister of mine named Costanta Diaz, a resident of Malagon.

Also that I fasted some days, not breakfasting until evening.

Also that when the meat was brought from the butcher shop I ungreased and purged it.

Also that I ate meat butchered by the hand of a Jew, while being pregnant of a boy.

Also that the Moors of Almagro once presented me with a piece of meat and that I ate it, my husband possessing the carelessness of the Moors.

Also that being in confinement, I ate meat and eggs during Lent and that I was five weeks in bed without rising.

Also that I idled during some of the Jewish Easters.

From all of which things by me confessed, I ask our Master and Redeemer Jesus Christ to pardon me and before your Reverences am penitent, and solemnly declare that if anything should come to my mind from this moment on, I shall come and tell it before your Reverences.

Iñes de Belmonte, Jail.

Seen by us P^o Diaz de la Costana, licentiate in Sacred Theology, Canon of the Church of Burgos, Judge Inquisitor of the Heretical perversity, given by the apostolic authority in this royal city, its land and in all the fields of Calatrava and archbishopric of Toledo, Officer and general Vicar of all the archbishopric of Toledo, by the Reverend in Jesus Christ, Father and Lord, Dn. P^o Gonzalez de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of the Spains, first Chancellor of Castile, etc., etc., in accordance with and by the advice of the honest and wise man, Licentiate Juan Gutierrez de Baltanas, Assessor of this Sacred Inquisition, an accusation that the honest Fernando Rodriguez del Varco, Chaplain of the King our Lord and Fiscal Promoter of the said Sacred Inquisition, attempted and proposed against Iñes de Belmonte, wife of Fernando de Belmonte, residing in this royal city, and in which she said that being a Christian by name and possession, in offence of our Lord and His Sacred Catholic Faith and in contempt of the ecclesiastic censures as well as of other civil and criminal penalties that she must expect when committing heresies and apostasies, the said Ines de Belmonte observed and celebrated the law of Moses and the things included under it according to usage; it happened that in celebration and honor of said law, the said Iñes de Belmonte lighted lamps early on Friday afternoon in honor of Saturday and cooked on Friday for Saturday and ate on Saturday what was cooked on Friday, celebrating and ceasing work on Saturdays, dressing with clean clothes on such days; on Easter she kneaded, baked and ate unleavened bread which Jews eat, and observed the Easter of unleavened bread, all in honor, solemnity and observance of said law, for which she asked to be declared as apostate and heretic and to have incurred the penalties established against such by the laws and the confiscation and loss of all her properties, thus complying with Justice. And having seen how the said Iñes de Belmonte of her own will confessed to be true all that is contained in said accusation and to have done and committed other things related before us as shown by the confession made in which she said that she observed Saturdays by wearing clean shirts and festival clothing, that on Friday evenings she lighted lamps, cooked on Friday for Saturday, ate unleavened bread and made it, fasted some days not breakfasting until evening and that when meat was brought from the butcher shop she ungreased and purged it and that she ate meat butchered by the hand of a Jew while

being pregnant of a boy and that she idled during some of the Jewish Easters: and how she asked us many times to receive her for reconciliation and having seen how the said accusation against her was proven by her own spontaneous confession and besides that of the witnesses who say and depose that all is contained in said accusation; and it is also proven that for fear of the Inquisition, and after we had come here on account of the heresy committed by her, she went away and absented herself from this city and her country and wandered at her will until at our orders and against her will she was arrested and brought to our jail where she has been and is confined. And having seen and examined her trial with the cooperation of lawyers and religious persons of clean consciences and of science, following their advices, as per their agreement and with God before us.

According to the confession of the said Iñes de Belmonte and in consideration of what the witnesses have said and deposed against her, we agree that she has been and is a heretic and apostate and for which we pronounce her and declare her to have incurred the penalty of summary excommunication and all the other penalties established against heretics by the law, and confiscation and loss of all her properties; but since of her own will and without denying or objecting to the accusation, she confessed to the heresy committed and wishing to use better judgment than heretofore, returned to our Sacred Mother Church with a pure heart and non-fictitious faith and to remain in it, for which if it is as she says that with a pure heart, contrition and non-fictitious or simulated faith she returns to our Sacred Mother Church, first abjuring all forms of heresy, specially that of judaizing and observing the law of Moses and if she should serve the sentence by us imposed on her, we order that she be acquitted of the sentence of excommunication which she incurred syne abhominè sino ajure, for having done and committed the heresy of judaizing and erring against our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and His Sacred Church in the manner confessed by the said Ines de Belmonte and order that she be placed in jail where we command that she be kept so that she may be able to expurgate her sin and from where she is not to go until it be our will. Thus we pronounce, order and command it in these writings and by them it is written—between lines—or—better—or—from where she is not to go until it be our will—valid—&.—.

Petrus Licenciatus — Signature.....

On the 15th of March, eighty five, this sentence was given in her presence, at the scaffold and square — Witnesses: Alvaro Guiar, Gonzalo de Saçedo, Fernando de Uçes, Fernando de Poblet, Aldermen, and the Archpresbyter and Licentiate Juan Fernandez, Bachelor — Gonzalo Muñoz, his son and Licentiate Juan del Campo.

From the foregoing it will be seen that Iñes was denounced to the inquisition by Fernando Rodriguez del Varco, chaplain to the king and fiscal agent of the Inquisition itself. Her own deposition is signed, and viséd by Diaz de la Costana, licentiate in theology, canon of the church in Burgos and judge of the Inquisition. The witnesses that appeared in her case were: Alvaro Guiar, Gonzales de Saçedo, Fernandes de Uçes, Fernando de Poblet, the licentiate Juan Fernandez, Gonzales Muñoz, his son and the licentiate Juan del Campo. The testimony

brought forward by them was to the effect that Iñes de Belmonte had lived in the city of Ciudad Real, not far from Toledo, as a member of the Catholic Church. But, disregarding of all ecclesiastical censures and punishments, she had continued to "observe the laws of Moses." It was brought out that she was accustomed to light candles on Friday night, to observe the seventh day as Sabbath, to have Passover (unleavened) cakes in her house and to follow other practices which were clearly Jewish. Demand was, therefore, made upon the Inquisition to declare her an heretic, to sequester her property and to punish her in various other ways. On February 13, however, she voluntarily (so the document states) confessed to these practices, implicating also Catalina Flores, wife of Diego Flores of Almagro, and her own sister, Costanta Diaz of Malagon. Because of her confession the ban that had been laid upon her was removed and she was formally absolved. It is not stated that her property was returned.

Unfortunately no statement is made as to who she or her husband was. It is a matter of regret again that no genealogical tree is attached. We are left quite in the dark respecting the lineage and connections of Iñes de Belmonte. The account of the judicial enquiry before the tribunal of the Inquisition can leave no doubt that the family to which she belonged was, either by descent or by marriage, connected with some of the thousands of secret Jews in the Spanish Peninsula, called at a later time Maranos, who were the subject of continual chicane on the part of the secular arm of the Church. Most of them, forced outwardly to conform to Catholic practices, in the supposed solitude and safety of their homes kept up Jewish observances, which were endeared to them by practice and family usage.

The mystery in which these Maranos were forced to enwrap their lives persists in regard to our knowledge of their origin and affiliations. It is especially dense in regard to their family names. One has only to make out a list of the names of the principal Sephardic families in Bordeaux, London, Hamburg or New York and to compare this list with one made up from the "Armoriais" of Spain and Portugal to see that all the important and old families in the Peninsula are represented in the Sephardic list.¹ What circumstances have brought this about? The question has been much discussed, and even Spanish authorities differ in

¹ I have done this in connection with Alonzo Lopez, *Nobilario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de España*, Madrid, 1622.

their explanation. Don Fernando y Gonzales, one of the chief authorities at the University of Madrid and author of a work on the legal position of the Jews in Spain, maintains that the connection is a real one and that it is based upon a community of blood and descent. On the other hand Rev. P. D. Fidal Fita y Colomé, the most learned student of Jewish history in Spain, is of the opinion that the connection is rather one of adoption. The making of converts to the faith was always considered in Christian Spain to be so great and so good a cause that the highest nobility in the land, kings and queens not excepted, gave it their highest protection and their puissant aid. They did this in a large measure by acting as god-father and god-mother to the newly baptized. In such cases they were apt to give their names as well as the right to bear the arms and titles of their house to the new converts. However, a very careful study of the subject has not convinced me that this latter explanation will solve all the difficulties, though it may be correct in a few individual cases. The Maranos and Jews of Spain and Portugal were powerful and influential enough to intermarry even with the noble families that stood by their side at the font. By such intermarriage they acquired the names and armorial bearings of some of the proud hidalgo families of the Peninsula and both names and arms were carried by them into their new homes beyond.

Finally, and in the form of a note, it is worth remarking that there was a somewhat famous Spanish dramatic author by the name of Luis de Belmonte, who lived between the years 1587 and 1639. He was at one time (1605) in Lima, as he himself states in his comedy entitled, *Algunas Hazañas de las muchas de D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete*, Madrid, 1622. He wrote a poem, *La Hispalia*, in which he praised the people of Seville as the "Conquerors of the New World." Another poem *The Rising of Christ*, Lisbon, 1616, brought him a certain reputation. It is favorably cited by Lopez de Vega. Belmonte collaborated with such poets as Calderon, Moreto, Martinez de Moneses, Rojas and Zorilla. His greatest success, however, was as a comic poet. He composed an amusing comedy, *The Devil as Preacher (El Diablo Predicador)*, which was, at times, put under the ban in Spain. In it the devil is depicted as being forced by Saint Michael and Jesus Christ to come to the aid of the Franciscans, who no longer receive charitable contributions. The Virgin, also, plays a rôle. She revives a woman killed by an avaricious and jealous husband. He wrote further

La Renegada de Valladolid, which caused an additional scandal in the clerical world. Eleven of his productions can be found printed in the collection called *Comedias escogidas* (1652-1704).

There seems, as hinted at above, to be no connection possible between these Belmonte families unearthed in Spanish archives and libraries and others of the same name outside the Peninsula. This is even true in the case of Iñes de Belmonte, in connection with whom Jewish antecedents are most probable. The possible connection of the Sanchez and Belmonte families will be referred to further on. It is necessary to look elsewhere in the Peninsula, i.e., in Portugal.

CHAPTER III

DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH THE BELMONTES IN PORTUGAL



THE BELMONTE FAMILY IN AMSTERDAM, in regard to which we happen to have a fair amount of information and which must, therefore, be taken as the basis for further investigations, seems to have been originally divided into three branches. One branch had its origin in Portugal; a second seems to have come from the island of Madeira; the original home of the third cannot be determined. What exact relationship existed between the three it is impossible to decide with the documents at my disposal. Two of these three—the first and the third—joined again in marriage about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is possible that they had some connection at a time earlier than this. More than this it is impossible to say.

The first and earliest branch takes us to Portugal and to conditions of life which are full of dramatic interest. The documents note that in the year 1519 King Manuel of Portugal, called "The Fortunate," granted to Don Iago y Sampayo the right to bear the name of the city Belmonte and to transmit such right to his male descendants in direct line.¹ There is no reason to doubt this distinct statement in the genealogical tree, which must have been based upon reliable information and which was evidently at one time the property of the Belmonte family in Amsterdam.

Who was this Don Iago y Sampayo? All that we know of him is that he was born in the year 1493, one year after the date of both the discovery of the New World and the great disaster that fell upon the

¹ The original words are: "En 1519 door Don Emanuel Konig van Portugal met de Stad Belmonte bescheligid die sedert het 'Belmonte' achten syn naam voegde zoo ook zyne nakomelinges."

Spanish Jews. The year of the grant of his patent of nobility, 1519, falls in what historians call "the heroic period" of Spanish history. If Don Manuel did not himself contribute much to this glory, the great discoveries made during his reign did. One has only to think of João de Nova (1501), Amerigo Vespucci (1501), Alfonso de Albuquerque (1510) and Magellan (1520). Of one additional fact we may feel certain; he was a Marano. I base this statement upon the circumstance that his nearest descendants, when they came to the Netherlands, took the first opportunity to return to the Jewish faith. It is quite impossible to conceive that there can be any question of the conversion of a Catholic to that faith. Not only were such conversions extremely rare; they were punished most severely by both Church and State. Even in the freer atmosphere of the Netherlands the transition of members of an important family from the Christian Church to the Jewish Synagogue would have been fraught with extreme danger. In point of fact, history has no record that such an event ever took place.

It is, further, inconceivable that people would, of their own free will, place themselves in a position of manifest inferiority; for, at that time, to be a Jew implied such inferiority. The readiness of the descendants of Don Iago y Sampayo to turn to the Jewish community can have only one explanation: that they were in all reality Jews and merely waiting for the occasion proper and auspicious enough to return to their former connections. Of such a kind were the Maranos. The product of the iniquitous legislation largely forced upon the South-European states by the Church of Rome, their history forms one of the most difficult pages, as well as one of the most interesting, in the story of the European Middle Ages and in European genealogical investigation.

It is supposed that the designation "Marano" comes from two Aramaic words, *maran atba*, "our Lord has come,"¹ and that this was the formula which the neophyte had to repeat and by pronouncing which a Catholic could be distinguished from a Moor or a Jew. A Marano, then, was and is one who "professes" Christianity. In course of time it came to denote one who *merely* professes Christianity, the while secretly holding to some other belief and following the forms of some other religion. In its most specific sense it stands for a Jew who was forced by the civil and religious power to go through all the formal rites

¹ I Corinthians xvi, 22. Another explanation offered connects the expression with the Hebrew words *חרם* *maran*, "thou art excommunicated"; but this is not at all probable.

of the Catholic Church while privately and secretly practicing those of the Jewish Synagogue and observing the tenets of Judaism.

Such a course of dissembling was forced upon the Jews in Spain and Portugal; at times, also, upon those in Italy and France. As has been said, the Holy Inquisition, or to give it its right name, the "Holy Office," was established for the one purpose of detecting heresy. Founded in the thirteenth century, it proved to be the strongest possible weapon in the hands of the Church. From the earliest times there had been an opposition to one or the other doctrine maintained by high clerical authorities. There were protests centuries previous to the one made by Martin Luther at Speyers in 1529, from the day in 318 when the bishop Arius threatened to split the young church in twain. Such protests came especially from southern France, where the freer spirit of the Gascons, Provençals and Languedocians, with their artistic and speculative independence, refused to wear the collar sent to them from Italy. Ordinary measures of church discipline had proven of little avail. The theory of the Church had been that *it* should detect heresy, but that the *secular arm* should carry out the sentence in punishment, thus technically saving the Church from the crime of bloodshed.

But not only had the secular arm at times refused to take the irons out of the church fire; the detection by the minions of the Church had not always been as thorough and as constant as the occasion demanded. It is true that the Donatists and the Manichaeans had been put down in the fourth and fifth centuries, the Patarini in the eleventh. But when the Albigenses, the Waldensians and the Cathari raised their heads in southern France, the Church of Rome became thoroughly frightened. Happily for such ecclesiastics as Innocent III (1198-1216), Gregory IX (1227-1241) and Innocent IV (1243-1254), the order of the Preaching Friars arose at the same time and put itself at the service of the Popes. It was the Castilian Dominic who founded a new order, intended expressly for the suppression of heretics. Confirmed in 1215 by Innocent III and in 1216 by Honourius III, this order gave itself over, heart and soul, to the work laid out. Beginning in Toulouse in 1234, it very soon formed an *imperium in imperio*, against which the ordinary authorities and dignitaries of the Church were quite powerless. Not only were clerics employed in the work of the Inquisition; one of the subsidiary orders founded by Dominic was a lay one, the "Militia of Christ," whose members obtained an unenviable reputation as the "Familiars of the Holy Office."

It can certainly be affirmed in all truth that the Dominicans did their work thoroughly. Whatever laxity may have been shown in ecclesiastical circles, they are not to be accused of either unwillingness or unreadiness. The record of their doings fills pages of blood and woe in the annals of the Church of Rome. It would be difficult to-day to find an intelligent churchman who would openly defend their methods,¹ however well-meaning they may have been to their sense of duty towards their faith. In practice, they were a scourge that preyed upon the very vitals of society. No building, no room, no corner was safe from their eagle eyes. The Russian police and spy system as developed under Alexander III and Nicholas II, frightful as it has proven itself to be, is a child when compared with the Roman Inquisition. For, while the Slav system works by giving and promising present-day rewards, the Roman used the tremendous lever of supposed gifts in the future world. It had also the additional aid of religious belief with which to work. No one was safe, the guiltless as little as the guilty. The Inquisitor-General had greater powers and a farther-reaching arm than the Minister of the Interior in the Czar's domain. Nor was there a Czar who could, as a last possibility, stay his hand. The Inquisitor-General could compel Popes to do his bidding as easily as he commanded his servants. The "familiars" swarmed everywhere, suspecting and detecting, persuading and threatening. In the dead of night, house visitations were made. The victims were carried off and lodged in the secret and dreaded dungeons of the Inquisition Palace. They remained locked up for years at a time, sometimes passing their whole lives in a journey from one prison to the other; or they were taken before judges sitting in secret and confronted by witnesses especially prepared with damning testimony. When nothing could avail to force a confession, the rack and the torture were called into use. The scenes that must have taken place in these dungeons, removed so far from the world, can easily be imagined. They have been told from out of ancient documents and need no further recital here. If one wanted to silence an enemy or bring hurt upon a rival, the surest way and shortest was to denounce him to the Inquisition. All sorts of minor punishments were in the power of that body; and any man once marked by it was practically boycotted from society.

¹ But see Albert Bayet, *Casuistique chrétienne contemporaine* (Paris, 1914), for an appreciation of what ecclesiastical logic can accomplish even in our own days.

From time to time the Holy Office held large and imposing *autos da fé*, "manifestations of the faith." Such "autos" were opened with a huge procession of penitents in various "penitential" garbs, followed by officers of the Inquisition and multitudes of priests. In the church a sermon was preached, and those who remained impenitent were put to death at the stake, their death being witnessed by crowds similar to those which to-day crowd around the Spanish bull-ring.

It is impossible to reckon up the havoc caused by such an institution as the Inquisition. The complete extirpation of the Albigensian and other heresies in southern France was entirely its work. As it had no soul for suffering, but only a sense for supposed truth, there was little to hold it back. In point of fact, every sentiment stirred it on to more intense activity. Ignoble purposes were bound to enter where ignoble means were employed so freely. It was a doctrine of the Inquisition that any means were permissible to acquire the evidence needed for conviction; before the Jesuits it followed the Jesuits' principle. It was a practice as well as a theory that the confiscated property and goods of a convicted heretic were, *eo ipso*, the possession of the Church. Personal, or rather communal ecclesiastical gain was as often a reason for the clerics' zeal as any other more ideal one might have been.

It was because of the fact just mentioned that as much of the wealth of the Maranos as possible was kept outside of those lands in which it was possible for them to become the prey of the Inquisition. When Menasse ben Israel in 1652 made his presentment to Oliver Cromwell in favor of the readmission of the Jews into England, he made the point that the Portuguese (i.e., Sephardic) Jews forego high rates of interest because they care very often for the fortunes of their brethren left behind in the old country, which they do largely as a work of love. It is believed that this fact stands in some connection with the founding of the Hamburg Bank (1619-1623),¹ with which no less than forty Jewish families were connected, nearly all of which families are well known to have been of Sephardic Marano extraction. Francisco Mendes-Nasi, a Marano of Lisbon, where he had a large banking-house, founded branches in Flanders and in France, in connection with which he advanced large sums to Charles V (1519-1556).

The Jews were not heretics; they were unbelievers. They were, therefore, to be dealt with by the Church and not by the Inquisition.

¹ See Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde* (Hamburg, 1902), p. 8.

The Church made great efforts to convert them; but it did not go far enough to reach this end and compelled the Jews to segregate in Juderias. The early history of the Inquisition does not concern itself with them at all, but it was bound in the end to do so. In its Spanish form, it practically devoted its whole energies to that unfortunate people. In Spain it had become more of a political than a religious power; or rather, having made itself independent in a large measure of the tutelage of Rome, it became an instrument of the greatest power in the hands of the king. The Jews had a most honorable position there; they had felt secure in their tenure of lands and of goods and looked upon the Peninsula as a second home. But not only had the Church grown in power and commenced to weigh with a heavy hand upon the Jews; Ferdinand of Castile conceived the idea of cleansing the country of all who were not of the Catholic faith. Under the Church influence, the Jew became restricted in his coming and going and many laws were passed that served to make life a burden. The large mass of Jews bore silently these burdens; and when in 1492 the edict of banishment did come, between one and two hundred thousand fled the country.¹ But there were others who were not so strong in spirit, whose faith was not so fervid and whose purpose was not so relentless. The temptation to buy at least a temporary release from suffering and exile was too great—even if not for themselves, at least for their families and descendants. They listened to the blandishments of the priests and changed their faith. They allowed themselves to be baptized, changed their names for high-sounding Catholic ones, went regularly to mass and upon their death-beds accepted the ministrations of the Church. Technically they were known as "Cristianos Nuevos" (New Christians).²

One cannot pretend to examine the conscience of people living so many hundreds of years ago; but there are the surest possible signs that the conversion was in many cases purely an outward one. Secretly, the converts continued to observe the Mosaic laws; secretly they worshipped the God of the Old Testament, as they had been brought up to do. It is sufficient to notice how eagerly they returned to Mother Synagogue

¹ Some authorities give the number as high as 300,000; others reduce it to 165,000. Lea considers even this number to be too large, though he recognizes how great a crime against humanity this was. See *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (N. Y., 1906), I, 143; E. N. Adler, *Auto de Fé and Jew* (London, 1908), p. 55.

² One such, Jacob Fundam, in his *Schatzkammer der Talmuds*, Amsterdam, 1737, calls himself "Juif Portugais de la secte des Pharizeens, actuellement Chretien."

when once the opportunity was given them to take their goods out of Spain and Portugal and make homes for themselves in other lands.¹ France, England, Holland, Italy, Morocco and Turkey became filled with them. Even to this day they exist in Portugal. I have myself known such a Marano; he claims to be a Jew by race, but by faith a Catholic. His father was circumcised, observed the Jewish Sabbath, fasted on the Day of Atonement — and yet died kneeling before a crucifix, after having received the extreme unction of the Roman Church. A life of forced obedience has thus become a second nature, a double life which was both conscious and unconscious. Centuries of rigid observance and upbringing had inbred a real belief in the Catholic faith; but it had not been able to uproot certain observances. These had remained as family rites, while those performing them were in total ignorance of their meaning and significance. Thus I am creditably informed that in many houses in Spain it is the custom, when Friday evening comes, to descend into the cellar and there light a pair of candles, the last remnant of a time when their Marano forebears, in full fear of the Inquisition, celebrated in their cellars the arrival of the Sabbath Day. In the Portuguese city of Cavilhão, near Bragança, there is a whole community of such former Maranos, who have preserved their individuality, refusing to intermarry with so-called "outsiders" and reciting their own peculiar prayers in Portuguese translation from the Hebrew. Within the last few years some of these men of Cavilhão have been induced to come to Lisbon; their liturgy has been taken down in writing and published.

With such Marano Jews Spain and Portugal must have been filled; their number may even have reached several hundred thousand. They carefully preserved their identity by means of intermarriage. But their life was in no sense a happy one. To be forced to live a lie is punishment enough; but life was made still harder for them by the well-merited suspicion with which the Church watched them. The Church, of course, was right. These neo-Christians were really only pseudo-Christians and, had safety been granted them, would in a moment have torn the mask of deception and dissemblment from off their own faces. Wherever they could, they worked secretly on behalf of the Jews, and their commercial connections with their brethren all over the business world made it possible for them to acquire great riches. This commercial

¹ A noted example of this is Abraham Senior Texeira, who went under the name of Diego Gery. See Grunwald, *Portugiesengrüber*, p. 124.

power alone—acknowledged, e.g., in the privileges given to the Bordeaux Jews in 1550 and in the permission given to the first Marano settlement in Amsterdam—was calculated to render them the suspects of envious and avaricious eyes. Both Church and State lusted after the riches of the Maranos more often than they desired their souls.¹ Time and again the Maranos bought off these ravenous pursuers; the amount expended can be gauged by the magnitude of some of the bribes refused.² The introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal is a notable example. During the reign of King Manuel (1495–1521), no headway could be made, as the king himself was so well-inclined towards the Maranos as to be styled by some “El Rey Judeo.” The record of the negotiations of the Roman Maranos with the cardinals and the Pope is an unpleasant chapter of the Church history. The very large sums of money poured into the papal treasury outweighed for many a year the influence of the Inquisition party. In the end, however, the coffers of the Maranos became emptied. The victory was won by the clericals in 1536, and the Spanish Inquisition was established in Portugal, which made of it at times a veritable hell for the Maranos.

To these Portuguese Maranos belonged Don Iago y Sampayo. Like many of his brethren of race, he must have occupied some high position in the councils of the State. But for what service rendered he received the fief of the place Belmonte is not apparent. The record may yet lurk in some out-of-the-way place in Lisbon; but nothing could be found, either in the Archives or in the National Library. The Archives—called “Arquivo Geral de Reino” (General Archives of the Kingdom)—were formerly housed in the Torre do Tombo, and even to-day are known as such in popular parlance. At present they are kept in the library at the palace of Ajuda. It is there, also, that the Inquisition records are preserved, some 35,000 volumes of manuscripts which have been gathered from the various Inquisition centres in the kingdom. Formerly no hindrance was placed in the way of the student; he might search and copy to his heart’s content. Of late years, however, the authorities are apt to look askant at anyone attempting the latter,

¹ In 1534, the Portuguese ambassador at Rome, writing to his home government, “added that nothing could be done in the Curia without money, for this is all they wanted.” Lea, *loc. cit.*, III, 240.

² Thus Ferdinand and Isabella refused the sum of 1,200,000 ducats offered for the abrogation of the Inquisition. See Lea, *loc. cit.*

In the year 1602 the Maranos obtained a general pardon for past offences by a bribe of 1,860,000 ducats to the king, 50,000 cruzados to Lerma, 30,000 to two members of the Suprema and 30,000 to its secretary. Lea, III, 267–70.

feeling, perhaps, that too great a publicity given to the horrors of the Inquisition will not redound to the credit of Portugal. In the manuscript department of the "Bibliotheca Nacional" there are long series of documents bound into volumes, dealing with the early history of the realm. Though I searched for hours and for whole days, with one or two exceptions, I was not able to find references to the Belmonte family. Nor was any entry to be detected in the official *Libro Velho dos Linbagens* (Old Book of Genealogies) of Portugal and in its later redaction, the *Nobilário* of Dom Pedro, natural son of King Dionysius of Portugal, which formed the basis of the work of Dom Caetano de Sousa.

There is reason to suspect that this want of evidence is not entirely fortuitous. For reasons which are very evident, the attempt must often have been made to remove the Jewish taint. This could be accomplished by the suppression of documents. Indeed, my search did reveal quite a number of volumes dealing with one Diego de Sampayo during the very reign of Dom Emanuel,¹ but without any reference at all to possible Marano connections. It is asserted there that the city of Ran Eados was bestowed upon him, i.e., its revenues were to go to him. The volumes are written in an execrable hand and are quite difficult to read. But I went through them with some care, and, strange as it may seem, in the same volume which gives the notice in regard to the gift to Dom Diego, two documents are found relating to a Diego Belmonte, a singer and a musician of some note at that time. This must be one of those merry and laughable tricks of fortune, by which that flighty dame ever lures scholars to their destruction. The name Belmonte seems to have been not less common as a family-name than it was as a place-name, and Diego (Iago) as frequent a given name in Portugal as John in Anglo-Saxon countries.

The difficulty is rendered more intricate by the fact, generally accepted by historians and genealogists, that at least one city of Belmonte in Portugal was an appanage of quite a different family, that of Cabral, a family so well-known in early times through the adventures of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil in 1500 and admiral of the first armada sent by Dom Manuel to India. The following formal record is given by Baena: ²

¹ See Index Volume s. v. Diego de Sampayo: Cart. de Ordenado. L.º 15-103: Liv. 38, 18.

² *Indice Heraldico*, 1872, s. v. Cabral.

"Cabral — Esta familia ja no tempo dos primeiros reis d'este occupava distinctos campos: n'ella permanecen o senhoria de Belmonte e o de outras terras sendo a maior prerogativa que tene a não dar homenagem dos castellos que se lhe entregavam. São suas armas em campo de prata duas cabras vermelhapas santes, armadas de negro: timbre uma das cabras," i.e.,

Cabral: This family already at the time of the early kings occupied specified territory. To it belongs the seignory of Belmonte and that of other lands; their chief prerogative being that they were not forced to render homage for two castles which had been given to them. Their armorial bearings were, on a field of silver two light vermillion she-goats, crossed in black, on the crest one of the she-goats.

The explorer was born in the castle of that "ancient and noble city of Belmonte,"¹ a place known for a peculiar and much venerated image of Mary and the infant Jesus known as "Nossa Senhora da Esperança."² His present-day descendant is exuberantly denominated "III^{mo} e Ex^{mo} Sr. D. José Maria de Figueiredo Cabral da Camara, primogenito dos III^{mos} e Ex^{mos} Srs. Terceiros Condes de Belmonte"; and his photograph is given in the pamphlet referred to in the note. The first descendants of the discoverer are carefully exhibited in Belchior d'Andrade Leytão's *Familias do Reino de Portugal*.³ In this list there are a number of names that might well be those of Maranos. The great discoverer himself was married to Dona Izabel de Castro. His daughter, Dona Catherina de Castro, was the wife of Nuno Furtado de Mendôça. His eldest son, Fernão Alvares Cabral, married Dona Margarida Coutinho. Such names — de Castro, Mendoça and Coutinho — occur frequently in later Sephardic annals;⁴ but I can find no additional warrant for asserting their Marano character. The same may be said of the further descendants of Cabral, as they are given by D. Antonio Caetano de Sousa in his *Memorias Historicas Genealogicas dos Grandes de Portugal*, 1775.⁵

The connection between the Sampayos and the Belmontes receives

¹ "tambem antiquissima e nobre villa de Belmonte." See Francisco de Sales Pires da Silva, *Pedro Alvarez Cabral O Descobridor do Brazil*, Lisboa, 1900, p. 11; "d'onde procedem os Condes de Belmonte, que representam a familia Cabral," *ibid.*, p. 21.

² The wonders worked by this image were described in the year 1694 by Luiz Mendes da Costa, prior of Belmonte. Jorge Cabral, cousin of the discoverer, in 1564 rebuilt and enlarged the convent "Nossa Senhora da Esperança" in Belmonte.

³ Letter C. Vol. VI, p. 1, 122.

⁴ See, for example, the lists in M. Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London, 1901; *Index to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, N. Y., 1914.

⁵ The question concerning the descent of the Cabrals acquired some notoriety because the grandson of the discoverer, João Gomes Cabral, married Dona Beatriz de Barros "filha de Francisco de Barros, arcepreste na Sé de Braga e Conego na de Lisboa." Da Silva, *loc. cit.*, p. 22. See also *Historia Genealogica da casa real Portugeza e dos documentos*, Lisboa, 1749, IX, p. 31.

confirmation from another document which I discovered in the manuscript department of the Bibliotheca Nacional at Lisbon.¹ The note is short, but of some importance. It makes mention of a certain Bartholomew, son of Diego de Belmonte, receiving a gift of money from the king in his quality of hidalgo. The king mentioned is the one that followed Manuel on the throne and who ruled from 1521 to 1557. Now we shall see in the next chapter that one of the sons of our Don Iago y Sampayo was named Bartholomew Sampayo Belmonte, the very one whose marriage will excite our most evident astonishment and who was sent on a political mission to the Netherlands. There seems absolutely no reason why the two persons should not be looked upon as one and the same, and while this does not entirely lift the mystery which rests upon the difficulty, it gives us every reason to hold to the truth of the genealogical tree that we are considering.

There are two further points that seem to endorse and confirm Jewish lineage and connection in respect to the family of Don Iago. The name Sampayo is not unknown in distinctly Marano connections. From a family with the same name are descended the Teixeiras or Teixeira-Sampayos. The most noted member of this branch was Don Diego Teixeira Sampayo, known in the Synagogue as Abraham Senior Teixeira, who was Resident of Queen Christina of Sweden in Hamburg and whose arms are given in the armorials of Van Weleneld and Rietstap.² Teixeira had been raised to the peerage in 1643. We shall also see that our Don Iago married a certain Andrea Mascarenhas, members of whose family had undoubted Jewish connections. In the sixteenth century there lived in Lisbon a certain Joas Rodriguez (or Rodrik) Mascarenhas, a tax-farmer. He is said to have been the richest and, consequently, the most hated of the neo-Christians. In April, 1506, the popular furor against him rose to such heights that a crowd dragged him to the Rua Nova, where he was killed and then burned.³

¹ Ms. de fons Ancients. No 1107, p. 11b.

² See Da Costa in *Der Navorscher*, VII, 210; VIII, etc.

³ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, IX, 220.

ARRIVAL IN THE NETHERLANDS



IT SEEMS THAT THE JEWS FIRST APPEARED in southern Holland when Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand of Austria, came into possession of the Spanish crown in the year 1526. Jews then asked for permission to be allowed to practice their religion there. Cardinal Ximenes, however, opposed the granting of this petition, and in 1549 entrance into the Netherlands was forbidden to the neo-Christians. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, it is probable that individuals did find entrance, as they had already gained a foothold in

Brussels and in Antwerp.

It was amid such surroundings and under such circumstances that the Sampayo-Belmonte family settled in the Netherlands. Don Iago y Sampayo, born in 1493, married in 1522 Dona Andrea Mascarenhas. Of this marriage five children were born, three sons and two daughters: the eldest, Bartholomew Sampayo-Belmonte, born in 1525; the second, Aurelio Belmonte-Mascarenhas, born in 1527; the third, André Belmonte, born in 1528; the fourth, Elvira Belmonte, born in 1529; and the fifth, Aldonca Belmonte, born in 1531. The peculiar difficulty that attaches to the study of Spanish and Portuguese genealogies will be seen at once. Husbands often added to their own name that of their wife's family, as sons did that of their mother's. In the case before us it is only the eldest of Don Iago's sons that takes his chief name "Sampayo," while the second son adopts the mother's family name Mascarenhas. But all of them are known as "Belmonte." There must have been some special reason for this, which I should like to think is the then recent creation of Don Iago y Sampayo into a Belmonte because of his connection with a place of that name. Indeed we have seen that in

the document found at Lisbon our Diego is himself styled "Diego de Belmonte."¹

As the eldest son, Bartholomew, will engage our fuller attention, it may be well to give here in a few words what is known of the other children. Aurelio entered the Church in 1547; I do not know whether this has any relation to the addition of his mother's family-name to his own. André married in 1554 Cathalina Moniz (another family-name that is not unknown in Jewish circles).² Elvira married in 1548 a Dionysis Moniz, presumably a relative of her future sister-in-law. Aldonca married in 1552 Christoval de Aranyo³ (a name also occurring in Jewish annals.) I have been unable to find any further information on this branch of the family. It is quite possible that here are to be found the ancestors of a later offshoot, that of the Jacob Belmontes, who came to Amsterdam from the island of Madeira. The presumable relationship is indicated in the genealogical tree given as Appendix XI.

If we now turn our attention to Iago's eldest son, we are confronted with two facts which make of him quite an interesting figure. When twenty-five years of age, in 1550, he was married to one Anna Lancastre. Who was this Anna? To what family did she belong? The name itself is sufficient to make one pause. It is neither Portuguese nor Spanish. In fact it is not, in any form, "continental" from the European point of view. It takes us at once to England, where the name is at home and where it has a definite geographical significance. As the Sampayo-Belmontes were of noble origin, it is quite proper to suppose that she also occupied a similar station in life. There are several families named Lancaster which have become famous in England. There was a noted traveller, Sir James Lancaster, who is stated by his biographers to have been "brought up among the Portuguese," to have lived as a "gentleman" in Portugal and to have come to England before the armada, when he commanded the ship *Edward Bonaventura*. He died in 1618.⁴ It is within the range of possibility that our Anna was a sister or a relative of this Sir James, though the biographers do not mention such sister or relative.

There is, however, another solution possible, and I venture to offer

¹ *Supra*, p. 34.

² See, e.g., *Index to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, s. v. Monis.

³ See, e.g., Grunwald, *Portugiesengrüber*, p. 153, s. v. Arroyo.

⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXII, 37, from *Calendar of State Papers (Spanish) in the Year 1533*, II, p. 884, note.

it here. We have knowledge of a second family of Lancaster, deriving from England but domiciled in Portugal, of much nobler birth and with much loftier connections, a family quite near to the royal house of England and connected with the former royal house of Portugal. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was the third son of Edward III of England and of his consort Philippa de Hainaut. The daughter Philippa (died 1414) born of this union married John Nothus, the illegitimate son of King Pedro called "Rigorous," the grand-master of Aviz and later himself king of Portugal. From the marriage of this Philippa of Lancaster with the king of Portugal are descended the house of Bourbon, the king of Saxony and the emperor of Austria. There were also, belonging to this Lancaster family, men of note in other walks of life, e.g., the much read Portuguese author D. João de Lancastre (as the Portuguese spell the name), who was born in the year 1501 and who died at Coimbra Aug. 22, 1571. His descent, as part of a general genealogical tree, is given in Appendix XI.¹

It is quite probable that Anna Lancastre belonged to this family. The supposition is strengthened when we remember that another female scion of this same Lancaster family, Dona Magdalena de Lancastre (expressly stated to have been "of royal blood"), was married to a Marano, Francisco de Brito Coutinho, son of Heitor (Hector) Mendes de Brito, called De Elvas, a knight of the royal house.² Such eminent connections as these need not fill us with any wonder. The Jews, and especially the Maranos, occupied such a position for several centuries that they were able to aspire to the highest. There is a story, told again and again, that when, in consequence of the Inquisition, the proposition was made in Portugal to distinguish all Jews and all descendants of Jews by forcing them to wear yellow hats, the Marquis of Pombal appeared before the king with three yellow caps in his hand. When asked for whom they were, he replied: "One is for Your Majesty, a second is for myself and the third is for the Inquisitor-General." In this case one can indeed add: "si non é vero é ben trovato"; for it represents the sentiment of the Portuguese at that time. It had a parallel in the fourteenth century when a son of Rodriguez Alfonso Pimentel, a member of a Jewish Marano family officially accepted into the Dutch heraldry, married

¹ See Hoefler, *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, Paris, 1859, XXIX, p. 318; *Betham's Genealogical Tables*, No. 243.

² Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da casa real Portuguesa*, XI, p. 939; Da Costa in *Der Naverscher*, VII, pp. 210 et seq.

Dona Leonor Telles de Meneses, a sister of the reigning queen. It is said that Dom Luis of Portugal had a Jewish mother.¹

It was this Bartholomew who carried the fortunes of the Belmonte family into the Netherlands. This occurred one year after his marriage in 1551. His mission is said to have been a political one, which is not strange, considering his noble birth and his still nobler connections. Nothing is said in the documents as to the kind and nature of this mission, nothing as to its success, nothing as to the exact place of his residence. I take it that this last was Amsterdam, as there is no mention whatsoever that the family was ever domiciled elsewhere in the Netherlands. He must have come there with the intention of domiciling himself and his family, for it was he who first changed the family name from its Spanish-Portuguese form Belmonte to the Dutch Schonenberg. From that time on, the family was known indifferently by one or the other name, at times even by both.

Bartholomew Sampayo-Belmonte may well have changed his name, or rather Teutonized its Latinity. He did not change his religious connections. He remained a Marano, and that he did so remain must have been due to circumstances then existing in Amsterdam and applicable to himself as well as to the others. Individual Jews, no doubt, lived in that city long before their residence there was recognized officially. We know, e.g., that Miguel Lopez Pereyra and Maria Nuñez were there in 1590, that Raphael Cardozo Namias — or Nahamias, a family which had many representatives in Hamburg² — of Lisbon lived there in 1591. We read of Duarte Saraiva of Amarante in August, 1598, and of Manuel Lopez Homen of Porto in November of the same year, both Maranos and residents of Amsterdam.³ A further study of the documents will, no doubt, reveal other sporadic cases of Jews and Maranos living there quietly — and undisturbed because they lived quietly — in much the same manner as a secret community of such Maranos existed in England long before the resettlement under Oliver Cromwell and despite the fact that the edict of banishment published during the reign of King John was still in force.⁴

This was one of the reasons why Bartholomew and his descendants

¹ Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, pp. 492, 522. On Dom Louis of Portugal's Jewish mother, see *ibid.*, p. 522.

² Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber*, p. 118.

³ *Stedelijk Archief* D T and B 666 fol. 31.

⁴ See Lucien Wolf, *The Jewry of the Restoration, 1660-1664*, in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, V, pp. 5 et seq.

continued to be outwardly professing Catholics until about the first decade of the seventeenth century. For it was only at that time that the Jews felt strong enough to live openly as a community. In a little tract of seven pages in Portuguese entitled, *Memoria par os siglos futuros*, or more explicitly, *Narração da viuda dos Judeos a Amsterdam*, of which the first edition has completely disappeared, but a copy of the second edition of which in Portuguese and Hebrew (Amsterdam, 1768) is in the Montezinos Library at Amsterdam, a sort of public arrival of Jews at Amsterdam is reported.¹ It is there said that in the year 5364 of the Jewish era, i.e., 1603-1604, two ships arrived in Emden (Friesland) from Spain, containing ten Jews (probably Maranos) and four children. They asked to have a goose, probably in order to kill it in accordance with the Jewish method of slaughtering. They were placed in communication with a certain Uri ha-Levy, a Jew already living in the city. To him they told the story that they were of Jewish descent and that they desired to be circumcised by him. Uri answered that this was not possible at Emden, that they would do best to continue on to Amsterdam, where he would come and do their bidding. The refugees followed his advice; but the Jews were denounced to the burgomaster, who caused Uri to be arrested. He was, however, able to convince the city authorities that these Jews would be helpful for the rising commerce of the city. Whereon Uri was freed from prison and the Jews were permitted to take up residence. It is for this reason that the date above mentioned is at times taken as that of the establishment of the Jewish community in Amsterdam, e.g., by Solomon d'Oliveria in his manuscript treatise, *Ramalbete de flores*, written in the year 1687, and consequently some twenty-four years previous to the "Memoria." He says: "The Jews of Portugal came to Holland about the year 1605."²

There was, therefore, no possibility for Bartholomew to shed his Marano garments. In fact, to do so would have been fraught with much danger. If he was on a political mission, as the documents suggest, such an act might have wrecked his whole work and have nullified the very object for which he had come. But, in addition, he would at

¹ I.e., "Narrative of the Arrival of the Spanish Jews in Amsterdam." See Cardozo de Bethencourt, *Aankomst der Joden te Amsterdam*, 1904, p. 10 (*Nieuw Israelit. Weekblad*, May 6, 1904. No. 47). The "Memoria" has been translated by Hillesum and published in *Centralblatt der Israeliten*, March 4, 1904. The same story is told in Menahem Man ben Solomon's *She'orit Yisrael*, Dyhernfurth, 1799, p. 58b, from which it is copied in Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 145. See also Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, IX, p. 594.

² P. 354 of the manuscript in the Montezinos Library.

one stroke have spoiled his whole position at home and have endangered the security and life of his family and all his connections. The Inquisition was at its height and he would have handed over his people and his goods into its rapacious hands. We have abundant evidence to prove that the Maranos knew well how to wait, how to bide their time and to take the occasion when it did really offer itself. Families remained Maranos for a whole and for several generations, confident that the time would come when they could without fear let down the mask. Such was the case with the Péreire (Pereira) family. Between the date when they accepted Catholicism in Portugal and the time when they returned to Judaism in southern France, there was an interval of fully two hundred years, when they once more arose to prominence in the person of Rodriguez Péreire, the founder of the system of deaf-mute teaching in France and the enormous fortunes of the family, of which family M. Eugène Péreire, President of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique and member of the Central Jewish Consistory of Paris, was the last male member.¹

Bartholomew Sampayo-Belmonte had five children, four sons and one daughter: Iago Antonio de Schonenberg, born in 1554; Pedro di Schonenberg Lancastri, born in 1555; Aurelio de Schonenberg, born in 1558; Guido de Schonenberg, born in 1560; and Phillipa de Schonenberg, born in 1563. The daughter does not seem to have married. In 1592 she entered a convent and took up a "religious" life. The second son, who added his mother's family-name to that of his father, probably returned to Portugal and there married Dona Antonia de los Rios Cabera. Nothing further is known of his fortunes.

Of the third and fourth brothers a little more is known. But, though it is only a little, it is not without some interest. Both Aurelio and Guido married in 1601 daughters of the neo-Christian (Marano) Balthazar Correa. Their wives' surnames are not given in the documents. But the fact that these daughters of Correa were also neo-Christians must have had some connection with the return of Aurelio and Guido, together with their whole households, in the year 1604, to their Jewish ancestral faith. This can only have occurred in Amsterdam. Whether they had been born and left there we cannot tell. What led them to take such a course, other than the strong feeling that persecution always

¹ See Ernst La Rochelle, *Jacob Rodrigues, premier instituteur des sourds-muets en France*, Paris, 1882, pp. 3 et seq.; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. IX, s. v.

evokes for the object of the persecutor's rage, can only be a matter of conjecture. It may also be connected with the data given above relative to the first overt appearance of Jews in Amsterdam almost in the very same year. They underwent as severe a test of their convictions as was humanly possible. Though in their forty-sixth and forty-seventh years, respectively, they underwent circumcision, on which occasion Guido was renamed Emanuel and Aurelio Joseph.

This fact of the renaming of Guido and Aurelio, or rather of the bearing of double names, introduces us into a novel difficulty in connection with the study of Jewish biography. Even at the present day it is a common event that orthodox Jews possess a Synagogue name in addition to the one by which they are known in every-day life. This is done for the reason that the Synagogue has retained the old Oriental custom of disregarding family names and of differentiating persons simply by their relationship to father or mother, e.g., Joseph son of Jacob, Samuel son of Hannah. When a family name exists, and especially in written records, this name is added, even if the records are kept in Hebrew.

With the Sephardic Jews, and especially during the dread days of the Inquisition, this practice of carrying double names was extended. Not only was the surname quite different; the family-name might be so as well. The reason for such a course is quite evident. It was intended to throw the minions of the "Tribunal" off the scent; to permit at least the family of the suspect to live as good Catholics, to preserve their fortunes intact, the while satisfying their religious and conscientious scruples. Thus in Hamburg, Moses Benveniste was known as Moses de Lemos, the Curiels as Da Costas, Benjamin Musafia as Benjamin Musafia Fidalgo, David Nahamias as Rodrigo de Castro, Jacob Curiel as Duarte Nuñez da Costa, and David Curiel as Lopo Ramirez. This was also the custom in Amsterdam. Antonio de Montezinos, the man who led Manasse ben Israel to do his great work for the Jews in England by his tale of the descent of the Indians from the "ten lost tribes," was known in the Synagogue as plain Aaron Levi; Miguel de Barrios, the Dutch poet and historian, as Daniel Levi de Barrios. The large and important Salvador family had the name Jesurun Rodriguez.¹ Don Antonio Lopez Suasso, raised to the peerage by Charles II of Spain in 1676 and given the barony of Avernas le gras in Brabant, was called

¹ Da Costa, *loc. cit.*, pp. 466 et seq.

Isaac Israel Suasso; João Peres da Cunha, Joseph da Costa; and Miguel Esteres de Pina, Mordecai da Costa. The way had indeed been pointed out to them by the Spanish custom, still in vogue to-day, of having two family names, that of the father and that of the mother or grandmother. The Portuguese go even further than this and add to their own name another one borne in the past by some member of the family, with the evident intent to keep that name alive. We have met such cases in the early history of the Belmonte family.

Many of the Maranos, however, had to go even still further than this. They lived under such continued fear of denunciation, arrest and sequestration of fortune, that they were forced to trade under many various and quite different names. Thus, during the period preceding the public resettlement of the Jews in England, the secret Maranos were forced to take double precaution. They had to hide the fact that they were in reality Jews and prevent their state of fortune from drawing attention upon them. A ship would come to a Marano in London from Amsterdam consigned to one name, another from the Barbadoes consigned to another, and a third from Mexico to a third. These were all assumed names, and the goods were the property of one and the same person. He did not even dare to have a dummy figure pose for him, and through the expenditure of considerable moneys the eyes of the custom-house were prevented from being open too wide. Thus Jacob Curiel was known also as Alexander Nuñez da Costa (d. 1665), Abraham Aboab as Duarte Díaz, David Namias as Rodrigo de Castro.

In the examination of the documents dealing with the Belmonte family, we encounter no difficulty in connection with the family-name. In the few cases in which a change has been made, that change is quite evident and can easily be attested. But it is different with the surnames. To the world at large and in business relations the family bore the high-sounding names of Bartholomew, Pedro, François, Elvira and Violante; but in the Synagogue and among their own they were content with the simple biblical ones borne by the patriarchs and the early ancestors: Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Rachel, Sarah and Rebecca. All the Synagogue documents, of birth, circumcision, marriage and death, are drawn up with these names. One is often quite bewildered to know "who's who," seeing that the same names recur with a frequency that is quite astonishing. Only a chance collocation of dates will show which plain Old Testament names, or even New Testament ones, hide the high-sounding *hidalgo* designations.

Aurelio de Schonenberg took the surname Joseph; Guido became Emanuel. They and their families remained permanently in Amsterdam, returning in a short while to the Portuguese form of the family-name and rejecting its Dutch translation into Schonenberg. They became the ancestors of several lines of descendants, the exact interconnection of which does not appear in the documents. This is much to be deplored, as from the Guido stock descended the Baron de Belmonte who was Spanish Resident in Amsterdam and who shed so much lustre upon his race. That this is true, is seen from the Baron's surname. He was given that of his ancestor, and his immediate family died out, as it had commenced, with that name. The last known member—who remained childless—was the Baron Emanuel Ximenes Belmonte, born in Amsterdam in 1730. The addition of the name Ximenes is an indication that the Belmontes had intermarried with a family so called. Happily, we are able to tell at what point that occurred. From Aurelio (= Joseph) there descended several branch lines, e.g., the Ergas-Belmontes, Pereyra-Belmontes, Brandão-Belmontes, Sarfatino-Belmontes and Abendana-Belmontes. All these families were allied to what may fittingly be called the Portuguese-Jewish nobility of Amsterdam. A descendant of the Brandão (= Brandon)-Belmontes is still to be found in that city to-day, Mr. Benjamin Brandon-Belmonte. I was able to get from him no further explanation of his own specific pedigree than the following:

JOSEPH BRANDON-BELMONTE, ca. 1825.
m. Ribka (Rebecca) Colaço-Belmonte.

DAVID BRANDON-BELMONTE, ca. 1850.
m. "a Tedesco" (i.e., non-Sephardic Jewess).

BENJAMIN BRANDON-BELMONTE, ca. 1900.

In the documents connected with the will of Rachel Belmonte (d. 1724), it is said that her uncle married R(ebecca) D. Brandon in 5471 A.C. (= 1711). This might afford a start for the Brandon-Belmontes. A Colaço-Belmonte, as we shall see, appears later in South America. The Abendana-Belmontes turn up again at Hamburg.

If we now return to Iago de Schonenberg, the eldest son of Bartholomew, it is to be noted that in 1579 he married (presumably in Portugal) Hyacintha Farro de Souza, who is stated to have been a countess ("gravin"). Their children were Bartholomew Farro de Schonenberg, born

in 1582, who took his mother's family-name and had his grandfather's surname, and Philippina Alberta de Schonenberg, who ended her life in a convent. Bartholomew married Dona Catharina Baëna Sanches. Who she was we do not know. There was a Jewish family "De Baëna" in Spain, the most famous member of which was Juan Alfonso de Baëna, private secretary of King John II of Arragon, a troubadour who did well in singing his verses entitled "gaya sciencia" (i.e., minstrelsy), but who finished by becoming a Christian. The name Sanches or Sanchez is too common to hang any deductions upon it, even though, as we have seen, one branch of the Spanish Belmonte family was descended from an ancestor of that name. The son of Iago and Hyacintha was Pedro de Schonenberg (born 1630). He married in 1628 Donna Maria Anna de Miranda, daughter of Dyonisius Miranda Arroncher. Their one son, Bartholomew (born 1630), bore the name by which his grandfather and his great-grandfather had been known. Following his great-grandfather's example, as well as that of his granduncles Aurelio and Guido, he came to Amsterdam with his wife and his two children and rejoined the Jewish community. It is probable that in Portugal his Marano descent and his own secret leanings had become known, and he was in fear and dread of the Inquisition. His wife, too, whom he married in 1651, appears from her name, Dona Violanta Carvalho, to have been of Marano descent. Her family-name is one that is quite common in Portuguese-Jewish surroundings.

It seems strange that only two of Bartholomew's and Violanta's children came to Amsterdam with them, the eldest, Pedro de Schonenberg (born 1652), and the youngest, Elvira de Schonenberg (born 1655). The middle child, Francis or François (born 1653), was sent in 1656 to be brought up by blood relations in Madrid, remained a Catholic and never married. It is probable that he is the diplomatist François de Schonenberg, who is treated at length in the following chapter. Upon their return to the old faith in Amsterdam, parents and children took on different surnames: Bartholomew, when circumcised, became Abraham; his wife Violanta became Sarah; Pedro was renamed Jacob and Elvira, Rachel. Either the father or the son received also the older family-name of Belmonte, the reason being that the wife Pedro (= Jacob) married in 1672 was a blood relation of the line of the Ergas-Belmontes, a certain Ribca (= Rebecca) Ergas-Belmonte. Elvira, or Rachel Belmonte-Schonenberg as she is called in the Synagogue records, remained

a spinster. Not only did she die a Jewess, but she left in 1724 a certain sum of money with the congregation, the interest of which is paid out yearly to poor members of the family for the purpose of providing a marriage-portion. All the documents relating to this foundation and properly certified are in the Archives of the Portuguese community at Amsterdam.

Pedro's children were six in number: Solomon Belmonte (Schonenberg), born 1675; Moses, born 1676; Sarah, born 1678; Lea, born 1680; Hanna, born 1683; and Reina, born 1686. The eldest, Solomon, married, late in life, in 1725 Donna Rachel, daughter of Abraham da Costa. He had issue in 1726 a son, Jacob Belmonte (Schonenberg), and in 1731 a daughter, Rebecca Belmonte (Schonenberg), who in 1751 married in Amsterdam Joseph Fernandes Nuñez. With Jacob Belmonte, the second child of Solomon (born 1726), this branch of the family intermarried with the second branch, his wife being Ester Franco Mendes, about whom an account will be given further on.

CHAPTER V

FRANÇOIS DE SCHONENBERG



THE MOST PICTURESQUE MEMBER OF THE Belmonte family was without doubt François de Schonenberg or Franciscus Schonenberg,¹ Marquis of Brabant. He lived during the stirring quarter of a century and more that preceded the War of Succession, and he took a somewhat important part in the negotiations, the intricacies and the cabals that preceded it. For many a long year he was stationed in Madrid, the centre of the whole storm, as diplomatic agent of the two powers whose interests were vitally affected by the outcome of the long, difficult and at times disgusting struggle. Upon one occasion even he himself was a storm centre and set the powers of Spain, Holland and England all agog for a number of years until the intervention of a fourth power, Austria, forced a settlement upon the haughty hidalgos.

Our interest in the man is also heightened by the fact that, due to the historical setting in which his life was lived, we are better informed about him than we are about any other member of the family. The chief duty of an agent or of an ambassador in those days was to keep his government informed upon the condition of affairs in the capital and the country to which he was accredited, and his greater or lesser success depended entirely upon the faithfulness with which he fulfilled this mission. By comparing such reports of the same events emanating from different quarters, the historian is able to form his own opinion of the real factors that were at play and to measure the responsibility of each. A portion of François de Schonenberg's home correspondence with the States-General is still preserved in the Rijks Archief at The Hague;²

¹ In English documents "Schonenberg" or "Schonenbergh"; in French documents, "Schonenberg," though he himself always signs "Schonenberg."

² For the years 1664-1717 under the heading "Diplomatische Correspondentiën."

and in the printed *Resolutien* of the Generaliteyt and of the Staten-Generaal will be found a précis of the various matters brought by Schonenberg before his government. The correspondence with the English government, if it were complete, would of course be of the greatest interest; unfortunately it begins in the year 1701 only, and the more interesting part dealing with the years immediately preceding have not been preserved. These letters are now to be found in the Record Office¹ at London, written in French by a clerk and signed by the author. Further information about him is found in the political correspondence and mémoires of other diplomats who had dealings with him, notably of the Marquis d'Harcourt, French ambassador at the court of Charles II and of Philip V—correspondence kept at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris and in the private archives of the Harcourt family²—of the Comte d'Harrach³ and of the Hon. A. Stanhope.⁴ Short references are to be found in Dutch historical and biographical works and in special treatises dealing with the history of the Jews in Holland.⁵

And even with all this material, we know very little of the personal history of Schonenberg. His own family must have preserved letters and documents, but these cannot now be found and we are left entirely ignorant of the man, however much we may know of the statesman. We do not even know for certain to which branch of the Belmonte family he belonged. His use, indeed exclusively, of the family-name Schonenberg would seem to show that he was a member of the chief branch of the family as descended from Iago Antonio de Schonenberg; the descendants of Guido and Amelia as well as the Madeira branch having preferred the old Iberian name Belmonte. The traditions of the family point to his identification with the one cited in the Synagogue register as "Jacob de Abraham Belmonte"; and da Costa in his manuscript notes and pedigree holds him to be the son of Bartholomew de Schonenberg

¹ Vol. 75, S. P. Foreign, Spain 1692-1705 Foreign Entry Books, Nos. 129, 196, 207.

² See a large part of it published by C. Hippeau in his *Avènement des Bourbons au Trône d'Espagne—Correspondence inédite du Marquis d'Harcourt Ambassadeur etc.*, Paris, 1875, 2 vols.

³ *Mémoires et négociations secrètes du Comte d'Harrach*, 2 vols. Compare also De la Torre, *Mémoires et négociations secrètes de diverses Cours de l'Europe*, The Hague, 1721; 2d Ed. ib. 1735.

⁴ *Spain under Charles II or Extracts from the Correspondence of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope British Minister at Madrid 1690-1699, from the originals at Chevening*, London, 1840; and *Correspondence of Hon. Alexander Stanhope, British Minister at Madrid*, Ed. Mahon, 1840.

⁵ Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie*, XVI, 298; XVII, 23, 28, 47; *Schelema, Staatskundig Nederland*, II, 299; Koenen, *Geschiednis der Joden*, p. 207; Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, 2d Ed., pp. 432 and 466; and a special article, *Eenige bijzonderheden uit het politieke leven van den Heer van Schonenberg*, 1851, and reprinted, *ibid.*, pp. 538 et seq.; *De Nederl. Stammen*, V. P. 83; Moreri, *Dict. historique*, s. v. Amsterdam.

(b. 1630), who returned to the Jewish fold and was renamed Abraham. If this is true, his birth might be placed in the year 1653; and the congruence of the Hebrew name Jacob with the Occidental name François is found again in François Ridder van Schonenberg, the father of Mr. Isaac da Costa's wife. But this identification will not hold good in its entirety. The additional note on the Ms. pedigree says of François de Schonenberg that "in the year 1656 he was taken to blood-relatives in Madrid and was educated and remained there unmarried as a Catholic." If he was a Marano, if only at heart, it is not probable that he had any connection with the Synagogue at Amsterdam. In the correspondence mentioned above there are only one or two references to his family and these to Baron Manuel de Belmonte, his almost equally renowned kinsman in Amsterdam. But these also are of so indefinite a nature as to be quite useless for our purposes.¹ The Comte D'Harrach speaks of Belmonte as Schonenberg's "cousin," and King Louis in writing to the Duke d'Harcourt about Schonenberg says: "Son oncle sert le roi d'Espagne."² Such terms as "cousin" and "uncle" were lightly used in those days and served only to emphasize the fact that a certain relationship existed between the two. Baron Manuel de Belmonte was undoubtedly the elder, the richer and the more influential of the two. It is mentioned especially that his wealth and his influence were of use in the promotion of his younger kinsman and that at the critical period of his life when his whole position at Madrid was shattered, a change in the situation was induced by the good offices of Belmonte in Amsterdam.

In what manner Schonenberg obtained the position he occupied in Madrid we do not know. It is significant that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a number of Spanish and Portuguese Jewish subjects were employed as fiscal and diplomatic agents of crowned heads in Europe. At Amsterdam in addition to Belmonte, Francisco Molo was financial agent of King John III of Poland (1679) and Alexander Nuñez da Costa Resident of the king of Portugal, while at Hamburg, Abensur was Polish Resident, Jacob Curiel and then his two sons, Solomon and Moses (= Geronimo Nuñez da Costa), were agents of Alphonso VI of Portugal, Isaac Texeira and his son Immanuel Senior Texeira represented the queen of Sweden, and Mesquita was agent of the Duke of Brunswick. It is probable that their versatility in languages as well

¹ Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, p. 287, says: "van een anderen tak dan de evengemelde Resident uit Spanje."

² Hippeau, II, p. 414, letter of June 4, 1701.

as their ramified commercial connections gave them a peculiar fitness for such positions. But before the end of his career Schonenberg had risen higher in rank than any of his compatriots; he had become minister plenipotentiary. At the outset he had to content himself with a position of lesser importance, probably that of *chargé d'affaires* merely. In the reports made officially of his letters, he is spoken of simply as "Waernemende de Saecken van der Staet aan het Hof van Spaigne."¹ No doubt the position was an inferior one as regards the salary and the official position which the holder occupied at court, and on several occasions Schonenberg endeavored to have a change made in his situation. This did not occur until some time after his transfer from Madrid to Lisbon.

I suspect that the Baron de Belmonte had something to do with the appointment; it is indeed strange to see two members of the same family holding positions of secret trust in countries which were for so many years political as well as commercial rivals. But no word or statement appears in the secret correspondence and *mémoires* of the time breathing the breath of suspicion of the disinterestedness of the two and of the services each rendered in his special capacity. But we do know when his career commenced. The Dutch biographies speak of him as *envoyé* in Madrid while William III, Prince of Orange and Nassau, was *Stadthouder*, and they add that, since that prince ascended the throne of England (1668), his representative became also representative of Great Britain at the Spanish court. Upon another occasion it is said that he was in the service of Holland for forty years. If this is not a general date, without a claim to special exactness, his first appointment would be dated from the year 1677 when he was but twenty-four years of age. Such a date is within the range of possibility.²

One further detail in the private life of Schonenberg is known to us. He thought it necessary to become a naturalized English citizen. In the Record Office papers the following patent of denization of "Francisco Schonenberg" is preserved:³

¹ *Resol.*, July 27, 1717, p. 327.

² D'Harrach, however (I, p. 287), in his *mémoires* says that the trouble with the court (see below) occurred a short while after Schonenberg had come to Madrid. This would place his advent ca. 1690, which seems to me undoubtedly too late.

³ Patent Roll 7 William and Mary, Part II, No. 17.

DENIZATION

"Rex omnibus ad quos etc. Saltm. Sciatis quod nos P diversis bonis causis & considera^{on}ibus Nos ad psens Sp^{ial}it moven De gra nra Sp^{iali} ac ex certa Sci^{ent} & mero motu nris Concessimus ac P Psentes P nobis hered & successoribus nostris consedimus Dilecto nobis Franco Schonenberg (in partib transmarinis nati) Id ipi oit & erit Indigena & ligens noster & hered & successorss nrors regni nri Anglie Ac quod hered sui suit & ejuit ligei nri hered & successorss nrors Ac quod tam ipse quam heredes sui in omnibus tractentur reputentur h^{er}anter & guberentur tanquam fideles liga nri infra pdict Regum nrm Anglie oriund et qued ipse & heredes sui omnes & omied Accoes sect & querel cujuscunq sint genris nature sive speciei, in quibuscunq Curis locis & Jurisdicconibus nris in Regno nro Anglie habero exercere eisq uti & gaudero & in eisdem plitare & implitare respondere & responderi, defendere & defendi possint & valeant possit & valeat in omnibus & P omnia sicut aliquis ligeus noster aut aliqui fidelis sub^{it}i nri in Deo Regno nris Anglie nat sive oriund et insup quod idem Francus Schonenberg & heredes sui terras Tenement reddit revercon et servit ac alia hereditament quecunq infra dictum Regum nrm Anglie & al Suia nra pquirere recipere capere habere tenere emere & possidere ac eis uti & gaudero sibi & hered suis imperpetum vel aliquoalio quocunq modo eaq dare vendere alienare et legare cuicunq persone sive quibuscunq personis sibi placuerit vel placuerint ad libit sui valeat & possit valeant & possint licite & impune ac adeo libe quiete integre & pacifice sicut aliquis fidelis ligeus noster infra dem Regum nrm Anglie oriund ac quod ipse & hered sui libere & licite clamare retinere & gaudere possit & valeat possint & valeant maner trre tenement reddit & hereditament quecunq sibi P nos aut P aliquas psonas quascunq aut P aliquam psonam quamcunq autehac dat concess sive assignat aut imposter dand concedend sive assignand adeo libere quiete integre & pacifice sicut aliquis fidelis ligeus noster infra dem Regum nrm Anglie oriund Ac quod idem Franciscus Schonenberg & heredes sui omnes & omnimod libertat Franches & privileg Regni nri Anglie libere quiete & pacifice sicut aliquis fidelis ligens noster & possint tanquam ligei nri infra dem Regum nrm Anglie nat absq pturbaco^e molestaco^e impedimento vexacone clameo sive gravamine quocunq nri hered aut successors nrors aut ministrors vel Officiar nrors aut aliors quorsecunq aliqua re causa vel mater quacunq in contrar indo in aliquo non obstante Attamen volumus ac P psentes eidem Francisco Schonenberg pcipimus quod idem Francisco Schonenberg et hered sui homaj & ligeanc nob hered & successorss nris faciant & faciat ac lott & scott put al ligei nri faciunt & contribuunt solvat & contribuut solvant & contribuunt ut justum est solvantq idem Francisco Schonenberg & hered sui nobis hered & successorss nris custum & sub^{sid} P rebus & merchandiz suis put aliemgene solvunt et solvero debuerunt Ac quod idem Franco Schonenberg & heredes sui omnes & singul ab Ordinaco^es Act Statut & Proclamacon Regni nri Anglie tetui edit quam imposter edend teneat & teneant & eisdem obediens & obedientes sit & sint juxta formam legum & Statut in ea parte Proviso semper & volumus quod pdict Francisco Schonenberg & familia sua quam nunc habet vel imposter hebit continuabunt & residentes erunt infra hoc Regem Anglie aut alibi infra Dominia nra proviso deniq & sub hac condicoe qa si pent Franco Schonenberg oit magister Navis vel Nauta vel aliquam posthacaget mercatur infra limites vel contra libertates & privilegia alicui Incorporaconi vel aliquib Incorporacon mercator hujus Regni nri Anglie P aliquas chartas sive tras paten alicujus vel aliquors progenitors nrors autehac concess tunc he trre nre paten vacu erunt & nullius effectus in cujus rei & teste Rege apud Westm. decimo die Aprilis."

That this was a wise precaution on his part the sequel shows. In a letter written to Vernon, July 28, 1701, he complains that he has heard from Aglionby that in the list of foreign ministers, Aglionby's name is inserted in place of Schonenberg's on the ground that, as he was not a subject of the king, he could not, legally speaking, be his minister. In recapitulating his zeal to the crown and his services to English merchants (for which he has had neither reimbursement nor compensation), he adds that he has been a naturalized English subject for seven years. This enables us to date the patent of denization as of 1694. As representative of England during a part of the time he can only have occupied a secondary position vis-à-vis the Spanish government, the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, youngest son of the first Earl of Chesterfield, being British minister at Madrid from 1690 to 1699. But of Holland he had the full representation (though not in name).

The records in the printed reports of the States-General do not yield anything before the year 1691. From the documents, however, that are preserved in the Hague archives it appears that the first commission was given to him on Feb. 1, 1678. It seems that in the year 1675 the Dutch Admiralty sent vessels of war into the Mediterranean, for the equipment of which the Spanish king had made himself responsible. The payment for this equipment had never been made to the Dutch Admiralty. To recover this sum the Council of the Admiralty at Amsterdam were authorized to send Schonenberg to Madrid. His title upon this mission was "Commissioner Extraordinary of the United Provinces." He must have acquitted himself well of his task, for in the further communications of the Admiralty in the year 1680 he is designated as "Envoy Extraordinary of the Prince of Orange to the King of Spain." This was, probably, only a temporary position, for the real minister of the States up to 1686 was Coenraad Heemskerk, and then Balthier. When this latter died, Schonenberg was authorized (Mar. 10, 1690) to take care of the State affairs at the court of Madrid, but without the position of envoy extraordinary. I have little doubt that his character as a Jew or Marano made it difficult to accredit him in so high a capacity at the Spanish court.

The activity of Schonenberg extended over a wide field, often touching upon matters of political import, but more often dealing with what were purely commercial affairs. It was the flourishing period of Dutch commerce, and the large companies that had been founded for traffic

beyond the seas made the safeguarding of Dutch business ventures the chief occupation of Dutch representatives all the world over. This is seen in the letters of Schonenberg, which are generally addressed to the Raedpensionaris and by him presented to the authorities in council assembled. Thus on June 29, 1691,¹ Schonenberg calls attention to the refusal of the Cadix authorities to permit the entry of the English and Dutch squadrons which were convoying the merchantmen from Smyrna. The refusal was evidently connected with some quarantine arrangements and Schonenberg was requested to make strong representations to his Catholic Majesty in order that the fleet might receive sufficient provisions from the shore. Upon another occasion² he reports that the Constable of Spain (letter of July 25, 1691) had complained to him of the injury done to French commerce by the contraband goods brought in by the English and the Dutch;³ or of the Dutch commerce in the West Indies, especially in negro slaves (letter of Mar. 28, 1693);⁴ in regard to business concerns in Bilboa,⁵ commercial arrangements with France in the Belgian provinces (letter of Nov. 11, 1694),⁶ certain Spanish wool seized at Amsterdam (letter of Aug. 4, 1695).⁷

By the side of these purely commercial affairs he deals occasionally with more important matters. On July 25, 1691, he forwards a request from the king of Spain through the Constable that the States-General would not accede to the request of the Moroccan envoy to furnish that country with munitions of war;⁸ on Dec. 23, 1695, he discusses the defenses of Catalonia, the expenses of maintaining the fleet at Messina and the convention concerning the sixteen ships of the line that were to be made ready for sea.⁹ But his own position at Madrid seems to have been an unsatisfactory one. He had charge, as has been shown above, of all the affairs, political and other, that concerned the relations of Spain and Holland, but the official title of "Envoy Extraordinary" was still denied him by the States-General. There was also a financial side to his complaints. His salary must have been small; and when he could not rely upon his kinsman, Baron de Belmonte, he had to use the utmost care. Thus in a communication dated Mar. 3, 1695,¹⁰ he

¹ *Resolutien*, July 28, 1691, p. 481. The vols. are cited according to the years.

² *Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1691, p. 584.

³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1691, p. 597.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 10, 1693, p. 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1694, p. 128; July 16, 1694, p. 329; Sept. 24, 1694, p. 404.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1694, p. 549.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, 1695, p. 402; Oct. 8, 1695, p. 417.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1695, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1691, p. 598.

¹⁰ *Generaliteit*, Mar. 28, 1695, p. 158.

acknowledges the receipt of a letter from the States-General ordering him and his servants to wear mourning for the death of the queen of England. This he has done, but he adds that he will make a suitable charge for it when rendering his accounts. I should venture to state that the answer, though somewhat enigmatic, was satisfactory. He was to be treated in the same manner as the "andere Ministers van den Staet." This was in no way a fictitious complaint; one has only to read of the extravagance then in vogue in Madrid, coupled with an unwonted dearth, of which even the Marquis d'Harcourt had to complain,¹ although he had a yearly salary of thirty thousand francs, not counting the many extras to which he had a right for extraordinary expenses.²

Of Schonenberg's services to the British crown at this period we are unfortunately not informed. His position here also seems not to have been wanting in difficulty. For various purposes, special and extraordinary commissions, whose presence must have occasioned a certain amount of friction, were sent out from England. The foreign entry books in the Record Office, giving minutes of the correspondence and instructions to agents, mention,³ e.g., that on Jan. 31, 1692-3, Aglionby was despatched to treat with the King of Spain about the proposal to regulate the mails and packets and to secure "The settling of the general correspondence of letters through the Kingdom of England without passing through the Kingdom of France." That no difficulty was occasioned by Schonenberg is seen from the following testimony of Aglionby himself:⁴

"I doe visitt M. de Schonenberg, who has both hys Majesty's, and the States General's character upon him. Hee has assur'd mee hee has noe orders to oppose mee, and say'd if hee had, hee would not complaye with them, except hee had at ye same time hys Majesty's. I shew'd him, but did not leave with him the draught I sent your Lordship. Hee sayd it was very strong and hee did not well see what replie would bee made to it. How sincerely this was sayd I will not undertake to pronounce." . . .

That Schonenberg was in the right when he complained of his anomalous position at court, especially at a court like that of Madrid where such extravagant value was placed upon ceremonials, the sequel only too clearly showed. The fullest account of this regrettable affair, which set three European powers all agog, is related by the Comte d'Harrach,

¹ Harrach, Vol. I, *Mémoires*, p. 287.

² Hippeau, *Avènement des Bourbons au Trône d'Espagne*, I, p. lxxiii. See also the letter of Père de la Blandinière, July 31, 1698, *ibid.*, p. 145.

³ Nottingham to Aglionby. S. P. Foreign Entry Book, No. 196, p. 26.

⁴ S. P. Foreign, Spain 75; Madrid May 16, 1692.

the Austrian ambassador, through whose instance an amicable settlement was at last reached. He says that M. de Schonenberg was a Jew and that though the circumstances under which this nation had lived must have made of them only a commercial people and have kept them away from all affairs of State, some of them had become quite "habile"; and Mr. le Baron de Belmonte, cousin of de Schonenberg and residing at Amsterdam in the interests of his Catholic Majesty, thought to advance his kinsman by aiding him with his credit and riches. Seigneur de Schonenberg responded so well to the intentions of his cousin that King William, who had Baron de Belmonte in high esteem and who, like most of the Seigneurs of the Republic of Holland, knew full well the utility which the States-General would find in the abilities and address of de Schonenberg, had him declared their envoy in Spain, although, at the beginning, he had to content himself with the title of "Resident." He had a secretary who was said to owe considerable moneys in Spain. A short while after de Schonenberg had come to Madrid, he was asked to make his secretary pay his debts. Either de Schonenberg was unable to force his secretary or his secretary was really unable to pay; the upshot was that the secretary was put under arrest at the instance of his creditors and without any regard for the fact that he was in the service of a friendly power. De Schonenberg, when he saw the disrespect towards his own person, demanded satisfaction and threatened to inform the king of England and the States-General of the insult. His first complaints were entirely disregarded. He renewed them with such force to the king that the latter became irritated and ordered him to retire from Madrid within the space of three days. De Schonenberg was much surprised. He refused to obey and was actually forced to leave.

When the king of England and the States-General heard of the affair, and especially after certain representations had been made by Baron de Belmonte, complaint was also made to Madrid on their account and satisfaction was demanded. But Madrid refused. The king of England, therefore, sent his master of ceremonies to the Spanish ambassador in London to say that he hoped the ambassador would not appear at court until satisfaction had been given at Madrid. The States-General in similar manner let Don Francisco Bernard de Quiros, Spanish ambassador at The Hague, know that they would not receive from him memorial or communication until the matter had been settled. The whole

of Spain was much irritated, and had it not been for the restraining authority of the king, the populace would have made its way to the domicile of de Schonenberg and have torn him to pieces, crying out, "He ought to be delivered over into the hands of the Inquisition since he was a secret Jew." France, believing that the affair might have the result of bringing dissatisfaction among the allies, used her agents to irritate more and more the people of Madrid against de Schonenberg. Here, however, the Count of Lobkowitz, ambassador of the German emperor at Madrid, intervened. In the name of his master he made representations to the king of Spain insisting that it was necessary that he remain upon good terms with the allies, who were striving to give back to Spain what was its due. A decision in the matter was asked of the emperor; and another affair intervening, its settlement remained open until the coming of the Comte d'Harrach.

The British minister at Madrid, the Hon. Alexander Stanhope, also makes reference to the violent measures used by the Spanish government. Writing to Admiral Russell on Sept. 27, 1695, he says:¹ "Sunday last was sevensnight, the conductor of Ambassadors was sent with a message from the King to M. Schonenberg (envoy from the States of Holland and of King William as Stadholder) to leave Madrid in six days, and that they will receive no more papers from or treat with him; the motive as the Marques de Los Balbazes² tells me, being some disrespectful offices of his in a late memorial, and having done ill offices relating to the Dutch ships in the fleet." In a further letter, dated Oct. 4, 1695, also to Admiral Russell, he adds: "M. Schonenberg was yesterday forcibly carried out of town by two *alcaldes de Corte*, with a numerous attendance of *Alguazils*. It looks very oddly, a minister of our King should be forced out of this court in such a manner, at the same time the memory of Namur³ is so fresh. Mons. Schonenberg is at Rovas, three leagues off where he continues till he receives our King's orders." And on Nov. 3, 1695, writing to the Earl of Galway, he adds: "This court continues in its usual tranquility, or rather I may call it insensibility, the greatest expectation that amuses them being to know how our King resents their so scandalous behaviour to his minister M. Schonenberg."

From the Dutch documents it appears that the circumstances of

¹ *Spain under Charles II*, p. 66.

² Member of the Council of the Monarchy.

³ Taken in 1692 by Louis XIV, retaken by William III of England in 1695; in Belgium.

Schonenberg's disgrace, if such it may be called, were the following. The Dutch firm of Jacque and Charles Mols in Bilboa suspended payment in the month of August, 1695. For one reason or another, Schonenberg was held responsible, or made the affair his own, asserting that the second member of the firm, Charles, was his private secretary. There is no reason to doubt this express statement, and it is hard to see why both England and Holland should have taken up the matter in the strenuous manner they did, had they not felt assured that the facts as stated by Schonenberg were in accordance with the truth. We have already seen that affairs at Bilboa had more than once been the subject of his attention, and it is possible that, being only an agent and not a minister plenipotentiary, he had engaged in some business adventure at that port. This fact seems to have been so well-known that King Louis XIV, writing to his representative M. de Blécourt at Madrid under date Sept. 19, 1700, says of him:¹ "Je ne serais pas surpris que, s'étant toujours mêlé de négoce, il voulût encore avoir part à l'achat de vaisseaux que le roi d'Espagne veut faire en Hollande."

Schonenberg's protest against the arrest of one who was even nominally only secretary of an accredited representative of a foreign power seems to have remained unanswered, and renewing his protests in a somewhat violent manner, he brought about his own expulsion as related above. Stanhope mentions certain matters relating to the Dutch ships in the fleet as being a concomitant cause of all the trouble. This must be the matter referred to in Schonenberg's communication of Dec. 23, 1694, about the money spent by his Catholic Majesty for the fleet. There is, however, nothing further in the documents to show that this was a cause of dispute. The facts stated above are sufficient to account in a large measure for the situation that was created in Madrid. But there was another influence at work which cast a lurid light around them and probably fanned the sinking fire into flames.

That influence was the Marquis d'Harcourt. The Comte d'Harrach very properly suspected him of attempting to sow discord among the allied powers, to create waters sufficiently troubled in which the French line might fish. One has only to read the published correspondence between King Louis XIV and his emissary, the Marquis d'Harcourt, to realize the office of the latter at the Spanish court. The exquisitely precise instructions given by the royal master had one single object in

¹ Hippeau, *Avénement des Bourbons*, II, p. 272.

view, the formation of a French party there which should be stronger than that of the German emperor and of his allies, the Dutch and the English. No pains were to be spared to encompass this end, and the chance indiscretion of Schonenberg was evidently used to good account by so adroit a statesman as the Frenchman was. The fact that the agent was a Jew by race at least, even if not in open court, made it a comparatively easy matter to inflame against him the popular mind.

The consequences of this act of forcible aggression were serious and came within a very short way of provoking a general conflict, for they called forth reprisals. The ejection had been carried out on Oct. 3. Schonenberg retired to a neighboring town, the Hague archives say at Valverde, the letter of Stanhope, at Rovas, three leagues from the capital. In the meantime a long communication was sent by the incriminated Resident to the States-General, dated Nov. 18, containing a memorial and all the necessary papers in justification of his conduct. This missive was formally handed over to the Committee for Foreign Affairs ("Gecommitteerden tot de Buytenlandtsche saecken"). The matter, however, must have been reported to Amsterdam immediately after its occurrence. On Oct. 18 an important meeting of the States-General was held when the memorial on the subject presented by De Quiros was read a second time as well as a letter of Schonenberg, of date Sept. 20. The matter must also have been brought to the attention of King William, for upon his advice a letter was conceived and forwarded to the king of Spain expressing their surprise "that his Majesty had allowed things to go so far that extreme measures were taken upon Heer Schonembergh, Envoy Extraordinary of his Excellent Royal Majesty of Great Britain and furnished with credentials from themselves and accepted as their Minister at the Court; and that in view of the friendly relations of the two states with Spain, such conduct appears unintelligible: especially as it has occurred at a time when matters of great importance are pending. Heer Schonembergh is fully instructed as regards the intentions of their government and they have no other Minister in Spain." The complaints of the King, as contained in the memorial of De Quiros, have been forwarded to Schonenberg to hear his reply to the same. They are full of respect for his Majesty, but beg of him still to consider Schonenberg their representative and to admit him to treat of their affairs in order that at so important a time no interruption may take place in their communications. Furthermore, that his Majesty of Great Britain

is resolved to proceed with the representatives of his Spanish Majesty in England in a similar manner as his own was treated in Madrid—unless satisfaction is given; to which course they will also be driven in Holland, unless his Majesty's sense of equity removes the present difficulty. Also, that an extract of the present resolution shall be placed in the hands of De Quiros,¹ by the agent Rosenboom, and a copy of the letter to his Majesty sent to Schonenberg for his own use.

The Generaliteit met again on Dec. 2, 1695. The answer of the Spanish king to the communication of the States-General, dated Madrid, Nov. 11, was read and found to contain "geen de minste satisfactie aan den Staet." In addition, it was only since the meeting of Oct. 18 that the fact of Schonenberg's expulsion had become known to them. It was therefore resolved that "no memoir of the King of Spain's Minister in Holland should be accepted" and no conferences held with him; that an extract of the present resolution be forwarded to De Quiros by the agent Rosenboom; that a copy of the letter of the king of Spain, together with the letter of Schonenberg dated Nov. 13, be sent to his Majesty of Great Britain requesting him to carry out the proposal made in the sitting of Oct. 18.

The reprisals in Holland were followed by those in Great Britain and an intimation was given to the Spanish ambassador (Gaspar Colorema, Marquis de Canales) to refrain from appearing at court. Whereon counter-reprisals were taken in Madrid, as appears from the following letter of Mr. Stanhope to Lord Lexington at Vienna, dated Jan. 5, 1696.²

"Your Lordship must have been informed from England how, in consequence of the refusal of this Court to readmit M. Schonenberg, Sir Charles Cotterell was sent to forbid the Spanish Ambassador the Court and the King's presence, and told that no memorials should be received from him till his Majesty had had satisfaction from this Court: upon notice of which, on Saturday last, being the last day of the old year, the Conductor of Ambassadors here was sent to me with the very same message, only changing of names, viz., that till his Catholic Majesty had satisfaction from the Court of England for what was done to the Marques of Canales, his Ambassador at London, he would receive no *offices* from me; and further ordered me to forbear going to Court, or appearing in his Majesty's presence; to which I answered, I should readily obey, and give an account thereof to the King, my Master, as I did the same night by Express. What will be the issue, I am not able to judge, till I have his Majesty's further orders, which, if they be as I expect for my return, I shall most willingly obey, after a full six years' absence from dear England, and in a country not the most pleasant to a

¹ Generaliteit, Dec. 2, 1695, p. 805.

² Stanhope, *Spain under Charles II*, p. 70.

stranger, only I should be glad, lest the common cause suffer by the difference, that some expedient of accomodation may be found out."

The mémoires of De la Torre show that the matter was even still more serious.¹ The Spanish minister reported his non-success to Madrid. This did not trouble the Madrid authorities as much as did the treatment of the Marquis de Canalés in London, and the king of Spain was asked by his counsellors not only to pay back in similar coin, as he did (see above), but also to persuade the Vienna court to do the same. Porto-Carrero, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, was the most insistent. De la Torre relates the Stanhope incident somewhat differently. He says that Stanhope was the first to hear of what had occurred to Canalés in London and had at the same time received orders, presumably from his home government, to leave Madrid. He indeed asked for his passports; but three days afterwards and before the passports could come, the introducer of ambassadors told him that the king of Spain ordered him out of his dominions within the space of eighteen days. Stanhope replied that he already had orders to leave and that he was only waiting for his safe-conduct. In quitting his post, De la Torre adds these words: "Il laissa auparavant ses instructions à Don François Schonemberg, envoyé des États-Généraux, et qui étoit fort estimé de la Reine et le chargea de veiller aux intérêts de l'Angleterre, suivant l'ordre qu'il en avoit reçu de S. M. B."

It is open to a legitimate doubt whether the affair of Schonemberg was the only reason that dictated the action of the English king towards the ambassador of Spain. Lamberti says that the real cause of his dismissal was the open manner in which De Canalés spoke about the first partition treaty, and that Don Bernardo de Quiros was not so violent in Holland, though the States-General refused to give an answer to his representations, because it held that the court had not yet given proper satisfaction for the insult offered to their ambassador Schonemberg. The first Treaty of Partition was entered into on Oct. 10, 1698, and it is possible that we are dealing with two different events. The Schonemberg matter occasioned the refusal to receive communications from De Quiros, e.g., in 1696; the ambassador's actions in regard to the treaty occasioned his being dismissed from the kingdom. This occurred probably in 1699, and the Marquis d'Harcourt writing to Louis XIV Nov. 5, 1699, says:²

¹ *Mémoires et négociations secrètes*, I, pp. 245 et seq.

² Hippeau, *Arènement des Bourbons*, II, p. 157.

"Les dernières nouvelles d'Angleterre ont fort déplu. Ayant appris que le marquis de Canalès avait reçu ordre du roi d'Angleterre de sortir du royaume, on ne sait pas encore ce que l'on résoudra là-dessus, mais on y est fort embarrassé."

But it seems certain that despite the affront, Schonenberg continued to represent both his courts in Spain, though for a while a Heer van Citters had been sent from The Hague upon a special mission. We are assured of this by the fact that on July 3, 1697, a resolution was passed by the States-General fixing Schonenberg's salary at five guilders a day to run from October, 1690, up to the time that Van Citters came to Madrid; and at a meeting of the States held on Apr. 21, 1698, a resolution was discussed, proposed on the preceding Feb. 5 and dealing with certain requests of "Abraham Ymants als Geauthoriseerde van den Heere Schonenbergh." These evidently related to various payments that he had made to needy passengers, to his secretary, for stamps and the like. They were ordered to be paid; but a further request that he be raised from the position of Resident to that of Envoy Extraordinary was practically tabled, it being handed over to the "Raedt," in order that it be examined by a commission.

The Admiralty at Amsterdam had thus not disavowed their representative. A *modus vivendi*, perhaps, had been found. In the Dutch histories we are told that shortly after his expulsion Schonenberg was permitted to come back to Madrid on condition that he should soon be called home, which agreement was not carried out; but that the mutual discontent disappeared after the coming of the Ambassador Van Citters in the following spring in order to discuss the question of the munitions of war sent to the Sultan of Morocco. It is hard to decide whether the spring of 1690 or 1697 is meant. But the determining factor in the final settlement of the difficulty was the Austrian minister in Madrid, the Comte d'Harrach;¹ and though it took until 1700, he finally succeeded in winning over the Spanish court to his view. He evidently saw the danger that faced Spain and Austrian interests in the Peninsula if a definite break should occur in the relations of the two maritime powers and the frightfully weakened Spain. He also felt the hand of Louis XIV silently working through his ambassador in order to keep open the wound.²

We have seen above that d'Harrach's predecessor at Madrid, the

¹ De la Torre (*ibid.*, I, p. 334) is even more precise. He says: "L'Affaire de Monsieur Schonenberg, dont on a parlé ailleurs, avoit été raccommodée à Madrid par les soins du Comte de Harrach."

² Louis XIV goes so far as to suggest that Schonenberg had reason to complain of the Comte d'Harrach's conduct. See the letter of Sept. 19, 1700, cited below.

Count de Lobkowitz, had advised the French king to allow the emperor to settle the dispute. Charles II had not yet agreed to this proposal. D'Harrach evidently renewed it through the Amirante of Castile, Thomas Enriquez de Caberera Count de Melgar. In a letter to the emperor, dated Jan. 12, 1698, he says:¹ "Je le (l'Amirante) remerciai de ses offres . . . et je lui fis voir ce que Kaunitz & Ausberg m'écrivoient touchant l'affaire de Mr. de Schonenberg, en y ajoutant que V. M. I. souhaitoit aussi passionément qu'elle fût terminée à la satisfaction du Roi d'Angleterre qui estimoit beaucoup ce Ministre, & des États Généraux des Provinces-Unies, qui y étoient les plus inéressés." The queen also intervened—she herself seems personally to have been interested in Schonenberg.² Marguerite-Thérèse was an Austrian by birth and eventually assisted the plans of the emperor's representative. She sent to d'Harrach one of the officers of her household to tell him that the Amirante informed her of his having mentioned to the king the interest that the emperor took in the affair of Mr. Schonenberg and that the king had promised to refer the decision to the emperor, as suggested, and to abide absolutely by what he ruled to be just and right.³ Upon another occasion d'Harrach mentioned these remarks of the queen to the Prince of Armstadt, Governor of Catalonia, who agreed with him that such a course would greatly please both the king of England and the States-General, might be of political advantage in the renewal of an alliance between the three powers and might also facilitate the transport of imperial troops into Spain.

And indeed, about Apr. 25, 1698, in an audience with the king, the Comte d'Harrach did propose "l'accomodement avec Mr. de Schonenberg."⁴ Such an "accomodement" was even then not quite easy of accomplishment. The *Mémoires* of Comte d'Harrach contain no further reference to the matter. But in a letter to his son James, dated Aug. 6, 1698, Alexander Stanhope speaks about a conference which the Comte d'Harrach was to have had with the king; "the pretence was to confer about a new *office* he is going to pass in this court, in order to the King our Master's satisfaction in the business of Mr. Schonenberg."⁵ The meeting, however, was not held. D'Harrach seems to have been as unsuccessful in this as he was in the other affair, and we do not know whether his son Aloys-Louis, who soon replaced him (Apr. 3, 1698) as ambassador at Madrid, was more successful.

¹ D'Harrach, *Mémoires*, p. 271.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 103.

⁵ Stanhope, *loc. cit.* p. 112.

But the seed had been sown and the queen together with the Austrian party must at last have succeeded. This was, however, not before late in the year 1700, for Louis XIV, writing from Marly to his agent M. de Blécourt on July 15, says: ¹

"J'ai fait communiquer le traité dans les principales Cours de l'Europe. Mes ambassadeurs et mes envoyés agissent de concert avec ceux du roi d'Angleterre et des États-Généraux dans les lieux où ils se trouvent ensemble. Il n'y a point de ministre d'Angleterre à Madrid, et le comte de Schoennenberg, envoyé des États-Généraux, ne fait aucune des fonctions de son caractère depuis le différend survenu à son sujet. Mon intention est cependant que vous lui disiez que je vous ai ordonné de concerter avec lui toutes les démarches qui seront à faire pour l'exécution du traité. Je sais qu'il a reçu ordre de ses ministres d'en user de même à votre égard, et cette conduite fera mieux voir encore la parfaite intelligence que je veux entretenir avec ces deux puissances."

The need for making peace was evidently the outcome of the fear engendered by the second Treaty of Partition. De Quiros had been sent posthaste to Holland to have an interview with King William of Holland, and the resulting communication of De Quiros determined the Madrid government to give way. De Blécourt writes to Louis XIV under date of Aug. 5, 1700: ²

"Il y a huit jours qu'il arriva ici un courrier de don Quiros; sur les lettres qu'il a apportées, on a rétabli le sieur de Schonnenberg, qui a eu audience particulière du Roi Catholique dimanche dernier, et qui l'aura bientôt en public. Je le fus voir samedi 31 du mois passé. Il me dit qu'il était bien aise d'être en état de pouvoir agir plus librement pour l'exécution du traité."

This break in the relations of the courts had thus lasted for well-nigh five full years; and it is significant that in the *Resolutien van de Heeren Staaten van Holland en Westvriesland* there is no reference to Van Schoennenberg between the years 1695 and 1700. The dissension thus caused and especially the question of law and usage thus raised had a wider import, as dealing with the rights and privileges of accredited ambassadors. In a treatise by a Dutch jurist, Cornelius van Bynkershoek (1673-1763), entitled *De Foro Legatorum Competenti* (1721), there occurs the following mention: ³

"On peut rapporter ici la dispute qu'il y eut entre le Roi d'Espagne, d'une part, le Roi d'Angleterre & les États Généraux, de l'autre, en l'année 1695 et 1696. Un Agent, qui, vu l'absence de l'Ambassadeur commun du Roi d'Angleterre et des États Généraux, faisoit leurs affaires auprès de la Cour d'Espagne, homme de néant, s'il en faut croire les bruits publics; avoit présenté au Roi d'Espagne des Mémoires injurieux. Le Roi lui fit ordonner de sortir de Madrit, & comme il refusoit opiniâtement de se

¹ Hippeau, *loc. cit.* p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 249.

³ P. 229.

retirer, le gouverneur de la Ville le mit dehors avec main forte. L'Agent en porta ses plaintes au Roi d'Angleterre, & aux États Généraux. Le Roi d'Angleterre vouloit aussi-tôt faire sortir de Londres l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne; mais les Ministres, par leurs représentations, le détournèrent de suivre ce premier mouvement. Ensuite ce Monarque, & les États Généraux, écrivirent au Roi d'Espagne, pour lui demander satisfaction de l'injure faite à leur Agent; sinon qu'ils chasseroient aussi ses Ambassadeurs. En quoi, à mon avis, on témoignoît mal entendre les règles du Droit des gens. Mais on dit que, par un accord fait depuis, le Roi d'Espagne permit à l'Agent de revenir à Madrit; après quoi le Roi d'Angleterre, & les États Généraux le rappellèrent."

On Aug. 1, 1700, Schonenberg is able to write to the Griffier Pagel in Holland relating "*sijne volkomen readmissie, ende van de Audientie die hy daer op bij hooght-gedachte sijne Koninglycke Majesteyt hadde gehadt,*" and to propose that the States-General should now in their turn re-establish De Quiros in his former functions. This communication was laid before the States-General on Aug. 24, and it was resolved to write to Schonenberg that he was to express to his Majesty the especial pleasure and satisfaction the States-General had experienced that the differences, which had lasted for so long a time, were at an end and that Heer de Schonenbergh was once more admitted to his various functions; that the States are now ready to acknowledge Heer Quiros or anyone else who may be accredited to them from his Majesty and that they wish to cultivate as much as possible the respect and the friendly feelings they have for his Majesty; furthermore that on Oct. 12, 1699, Heer Quiros had presented his credentials as ambassador, but that he could not be received then seeing that the question of the readmission of Heer Schonenberg had not been solved; but that they would now be only too glad to accept him, of which he would receive due notification.

The letter of Van Schonenberg is still preserved in the Royal Archives of Holland together with an additional one dated Aug. 26, 1700. These show us how the Spanish court was willing to go out of its way in an evident desire to make good by excessive kindness of speech and fullest ceremonial for the mistake made five years previously. The Marquis de Leganez came especially to him to say that the king desired to grant him not only a public but also a private audience. At the latter Schonenberg and the king were redolent of fine phrases about the respect they had for each other and the affection that existed between the king of Spain, the king of Great Britain and the States-General. Schonenberg notes as an especial mark of favor that though it was customary that in private audiences no one else but the private secretary of the

king should be present, this time de Leganez came to congratulate him in the royal antechamber. On Aug. 25 he was received in public audience. "The Conductor of Ambassadors," he says, "came to my house with a Royal carriage led by four beautiful Frisian horses; but long before the time agreed upon, he took me through the most frequented streets to the palace, his secretary and other domestics following in three other pretty carriages." In the courtyard the Royal Garde de corps with their halbards and guns were drawn up in double line. He was introduced by the majordomo on service, "the King stood supporting himself against a table, surrounded by the most important grantees," and the speeches made at the private audience were repeated. Then he had audience of the queen, where the grantees stood on one side of her Majesty and the ladies of the court on the other and where like speeches of mutual amity were indulged in. He was then reconducted to his hotel in similar form. For several days he was busy receiving and paying the necessary visits, "after which embarrassing ceremonies," he adds, "I hope to be able to consecrate my efforts upon the business of his Brittanic Majesty and your right-honorable selves."

Van Schonenberg had thus gained his point, and the two states that he represented must have felt a certain satisfaction that they had for fully five years braved an open rupture in order to safeguard the respect they considered due to their representative. His peace of mind, however, was not to be of long duration. He had a secret, but especially powerful enemy in Louis XIV of France, and it was through that puissant monarch that he was eventually to lose his position at the Spanish capital and change it for one at Lisbon. Nor was he yet quite content with his own home governments. Two subjects continued to trouble him, and there can be little doubt that the trouble was a real, not an imaginary one. On the one hand, his resources were not sufficient to meet the natural expenses of one representing two such powerful states as England and Holland, and on the other, by continuing to refuse to him the position of Envoy Extraordinary, the States-General were making his position inferior to that of the representatives of other powers. In his letter of Aug. 1, 1700, he already mentions the fact that he has had to burnish up his old equipages and liveries. On Nov. 18, 1700, he asks expressly for a large yearly salary and for the character as envoy extraordinary. The matter was again referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.¹

¹ *Resolutien*, Dec. 8, 1700, p. 574.

Nor was any further action taken at a meeting held two days later. It is impossible to tell what reason prompted the States-General to act in this manner towards an agent whom they had supported in so energetic a way.¹

In a meeting held July 5, 1701, at a repeated request on his part, his salary was fixed at 18 gulden a day, plus 40 gulden a month for a secretary and clerk. His postage and translation expenses were to be paid also, 150 gulden a year was to be allowed him in assisting needy travellers, and he was to have 50 gulden for buying blue books. No agreement was come to as regards the travelling expenses of his secretary Peguijn.²

Madrid was at this time the centre of European politics. The weak and sickly Charles II was upon the Spanish throne; and, though twice married, no heir to his vast empire of Spain, India, Sicily, Naples, the Milanese and the Low Countries had been vouchsafed to him. There can be no doubt that very early in his wonderful career Louis XIV set his heart upon this prize. The Peace of Ryswick, in which he conceded so much to the various powers opposed to him, was concluded with this one end in view. The health of Charles was so bad that his death was expected momentarily, and the most expert diplomatists were sent to Madrid there to watch, intrigue and undermine, in the hope of pushing forward one or the other of the rival claimants for the throne — which was still occupied! Louis XIV made his demand in virtue of his wife's rights (Maria Theresa) as eldest daughter of Philip IV, the father of Charles, and proposed the Duke d'Anjou, his second grandson. The German emperor Leopold I based his claims upon the right of his queen, Marguerite Theresa, the youngest daughter of Philip IV, and put forward the Archduke of Austria as the claimant. In addition, both Louis and Leopold had married their cousins, the sisters of Charles II. In the third place the Elector of Bavaria, who had married the daughter of Leopold I, demanded the succession for his son Joseph Ferdinand Leopold, a child of a few years. The German emperor advanced against his brother-in-law Louis the fact that Philip IV had compelled his daughter Maria Theresa to renounce her rights to the Spanish throne when she became queen of France, and the Elector of Bavaria believed that the rights of his son as direct descendant of Philip IV had first to be taken into account. It is not necessary to go further into these questions

¹ *Resolutien*, Dec. 10, 1700, p. 537.

² *Ibid.*, p. 380.

of succession more than to say that Louis XIV considered or feigned to consider the renunciation of Maria Theresa of no value because the other terms of the stipulation, notably in regard to her dowry, had not been carried out on the Spanish side.

The publication of Louis XIV's correspondence with his agents in Spain leaves no room open for any doubt as to his real intentions; little as it does of his double dealing with the allies. His coquetting with England and Holland seems to have been in so far successful that they believed him seriously to entertain with them the projects of dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy that they had in view. It was good politics upon the part of the maritime powers; for a united Spain and France would undoubtedly have done irreparable harm to the commerce of the two countries. The weakness of the allies lay in the fact that Austria continually held back. The Comte d'Harrach was no match at Madrid for the Marquis d'Harcourt. His letters and those of M. de Blécourt show how admirably Louis was kept informed of what was happening in the Spanish capital. In fact, almost every breath that the dying king took, as he lingered for fully three years, is here recorded, every change in a direful sickness, every movement of those interested in the course events were taking. Indeed, Louis' instructions to d'Harcourt, when he set out upon his mission, were so precise that one is led to admire the intelligence bureau of the French monarch. And all this despite the fact that on Oct. 10, 1698, a secret Treaty of Partition had been signed at The Hague by France, Great Britain and the States-General. According to this the Dauphin was to reign over Naples, Sicily, certain places on the Tuscan coast, the marquisate of Final and the province of Guipuzcoa; the Prince Elector of Bavaria was to reign over Spain, the Low Countries and India; the Archduke, second son of the emperor, was to have the Milanese. Unfortunately, this treaty leaked out to Madrid, where it created such excitement that the king was induced to sign a testament (1698) naming as his successor the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, then four years of age. The young prince, however, died at Brussels, Feb. 8, 1699, and a second secret treaty was made by which the Dauphin was to get the duchy of Lorraine in addition, and the Duke of Lorraine was to be recompensed with the Milanese. If the emperor subscribed to this treaty, the Archduke was to rule over Spain, the Low Countries and India. If he did not, the allies were to come to some understanding in regard to a substitute. This second treaty was

concluded in London, May 13, 1700, and signed in The Hague on May 25. The greatest possible indignation followed the premature publication of this agreement in Madrid. It was looked upon as a direct insult to Charles II, who was not yet dead, and to the Spanish people, who felt themselves completely neglected in these arrangements which, in the first place, concerned themselves and their future. This was exactly the game that Louis was playing; Charles and his advisers were to see that the only safety for Spain against dismemberment lay in the acceptance of the Duke of Anjou as heir to the throne.

Schonenberg was, of course, well informed both of the preparation and the signing of the treaty. Yet he seems to have been well exercised in that supreme ambassadorial virtue, the ability to dissemble his real opinion. He affected great surprise, evidently desiring to throw those spying him off the real track. In this he was partly successful, as is seen in the account given by De la Torre:¹

"Mr. de Schonemberg (sic!), Envoyé des États Généraux à Madrid, & qui depuis le départ de Mr. Stanhope y faisoit les affaires du Roi d'Angleterre, ne savoit que dire là-dessus. Il étoit très mortifié d'entendre les plaintes, que plusieurs Seigneurs lui faisoient de ses Maîtres. Il haussoit les épaules & se contentoit de dire: 'Je sais bien que le Traité a été conclu; je sais aussi que L. H. P. sont toujours dans les dispositions favorables pour l'Espagne, où Elles ont été depuis la Paix de Munster. Je n'ignore pas non plus les efforts, que les Anglois ont faits, pour empêcher l'agrandissement de la France, sur tout pendant le Règne du Roi Guillaume. Mais qui est-ce qui peut savoir les raisons qui les ont obligés de conclure un Traité, qui semble être si contraire à leurs anciennes maximes?' Il disoit le même à ceux qui entroient le plus dans sa confidence: 'Je ne sais non plus que vous ce que je dois penser de ce Traité. J'en suis aussi surpris que vous mêmes; mais qui sait si tout ceci ne renferme point quelque mystère? Nous avons un grand Pensionnaire, qui est l'homme du monde le plus éclairé, & en même tems le plus zélé pour l'intérêt de l'État. Jamais personne ne s'est plus opposé que lui à l'agrandissement de la France. Les autres Membres de l'État sont dans les mêmes sentimens, & possèdent les mêmes qualités. Quant au Roi Guillaume, je suis sûr qu'il ne s'est point défait de son ancienne maxime, qui est qu'on ne devoit point craindre la Puissance de la Maison d'Autriche, tant que la France seroit en état de la contre-balancer; mais que, si cette Maison devenoit supérieure à la France, il seroit aussi bon François qu'il avoit toujours été bon Espagnol.'"

His opinion of the course that the emperor would take in regard to the treaty is shown in a letter from De Blécourt to King Louis on July 29, 1700.²

"J'ai su, depuis, que le roi et la reine d'Espagne exhortent fort l'Empereur de ne pas signer le traité, mais que le comte d'Harack lui a écrit de ne pas se fier à ce qu'on

¹ De la Torre, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 312.

² Hippeau, *loc. cit.*, p. 247.

pourrait lui mander. J'ai vu le sieur de Schonenberg, qui est ici de la part du roi d'Angleterre comme des États-Généraux. Il est de sentiment que l'Empereur reculera autant qu'il pourra, mais que le moyen de faire réussir le traité est de le presser d'y souscrire. Sur ce que je lui ai dit que je savais qu'on avait envoyé de l'argent à don Quiros pour passer en Hollande lorsque le roi d'Angleterre y sera, il m'a assuré qu'il n'aurait audience ni de l'un ni de l'autre qu'on ne l'ait ici rétabli dans les fonctions de son caractère."

In fact, Schonenberg was suspected both by De Blécourt and by King Louis, suspected of having traffic with the Spaniards and especially with the Marquis de Leganez. I am afraid that the suspicion is well-founded and that the agent of the States-General "did lie abroad" in the interests of his masters. How he was watched may be seen from the following extracts from the correspondence of De Blécourt and King Louis.¹

"Je lui dis que don Quiros mandait qu'il trouvera des vaisseaux à acheter en Hollande. Il m'a dit qu'il en donnerait avis à ses maîtres, afin qu'ils l'empêchassent, s'il était à propos. Cependant, le même jour que je le fus voir, j'ai su qu'il avait été entre dix et onze heures du soir à la porte du marquis de Leganez, qu'il ne trouva pas. Il s'en alla au coin de la rue, où le marquis de Leganez l'alla trouver à pied sans aucune suite, et ils eurent ensemble une conversation de trois quarts d'heure. J'ai su que le secrétaire de Schonenberg a eu lundi et mardi de longues conversations avec l'ambassadeur d'Allemagne dans sa maison. Ces démarches, Sire, me sont suspectes. Votre Majesté verra, quand le terme qu'Elle a donné à l'Empereur sera fini, si ses maîtres reculeront à prendre des mesures avec Elle pour le contraindre de souscrire au traité. Il y a apparence que le rétablissement de don Quiros suivra. C'est le marquis de Leganez qui y a travaillé fortement, . . ."

"J'ai été voir Schonenberg pour voir s'il ne me dirait rien des visites secrètes qu'il rend au marquis de Leganez. Il ne m'en a rien dit. Je sais cependant qu'il lui en a rendu depuis peu et que Leganez va chez lui. Il m'a dit seulement que, pour la réussite du traité, il fallait se garder de prendre des défiances les uns des autres. Il m'a dit aussi que le comte d'Harack a ajouté, après, qu'un de ses adhérents lui avait mandé par un billet que le roi d'Espagne avait écrit à l'Empereur de faire marcher des troupes pour l'Italie, et qu'il ne savait à quel dessein on lui donnait cet avis, ce qui marque qu'il a correspondance avec les gens de ce parti."

"J'ai été hier voir Schonenberg: il dit toujours qu'il ne faut pas prendre de méfiance les uns des autres. Je lui ai demandé s'il connaissait beaucoup le marquis de Leganez; il m'a répondu qu'il le connaissait avant qu'il allât à Milan, et que Leganez avait été chez lui après la déclaration du traité. Il ne m'en a pas dit davantage. Je sais que son secrétaire va souvent chez Leganez et chez le comte d'Harack."

To which King Louis answered:

"J'ai vu par votre seconde lettre que l'agent des États-Généraux avait été admis à l'audience particulière du Roi Catholique, et je sais que le marquis de Leganez a per-

¹ Hippeau, *loc. cit.*, II, pp. 249, 252, 254, 256.

suadé au Roi son maître que l'accommodement de ce différend, quoique peu honorable à la couronne d'Espagne, ouvrait une voie pour traiter plus facilement avec le roi d'Angleterre et avec les Etats-Généraux. Ainsi je ne doute pas que les conférences secrètes dont vous me rendez compte ne soient aussi dans la même vue."

The German emperor had definitely refused to sign the Treaty of Partition; in fact, he was about to send troops to Sicily, Naples and Milan. To this the king of Spain had also agreed. Such a course was regarded by Louis as threatening the peace of Europe, and De Blécourt was ordered to make the necessary representations at the Spanish court. Holland and England were to do the same; but Louis still suspected their representative and took all the necessary precautions. King Louis writes to De Blécourt on Aug. 30, 1700,¹ that

The emperor is about to send troops to Sicily, Naples and Milan and the king of Spain had given orders that the troops were to be received. Agreed with England and Holland that de Blécourt should speak of this as a contravention of peace "et le sieur de Schonenberg, chargé du soin des affaires et du roi d'Angleterre et des États-Généraux, recevra, par le premier ordinaire, des ordres semblables à ceux que je vous envoie par ce courrier. . . . Avant que de lui (secretary of despatches of the king) parler, vous informerez le sieur de Schonenberg des ordres que je vous donne; vous lui montrerez la copie que je vous envoie: ce sont ceux qu'il doit recevoir de son maître, et vous lui direz que je vous prie d'en concerter avec lui l'exécution."

To this De Blécourt replies on September 10, 1700:²

"J'ai communiqué au sieur de Schonenberg le mémoire, comme Votre Majesté me l'a commandé, qui m'a dit qu'en attendant les ordres qu'il doit recevoir il agira en conformité de ceux que j'ai. Ensuite, j'ai porté à don A. Ubilla le mémoire traduit en espagnol."

But what made Schonenberg's conduct still more suspected was his assistance given to Spain in the purchase of eight vessels of war of 50 or 60 cannons each, every ship to cost 36,000 écus. In reporting upon the matter in the same letter as the above, de Blécourt hesitates to put an unfriendly character upon this transaction, suspecting (probably rightly) that the commercial side of it was the one that interested Schonenberg most. He says:³

"Si Votre Majesté n'était pas bien persuadée de la bonne foi de ses alliés, ces démarches de Schonenberg me seraient plus suspectes. Il m'a dit qu'il n'avait pas de commerce avec le comte d'Harack. Je sais cependant qu'il en a, qu'il est très-souvent chez Leganez, et que même il fit entremise pour l'achat des vaisseaux dont j'ai parlé à Votre Majesté dans ma dernière lettre, et qu'il en fait remettre le soin à don Quiros,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

au lieu de le laisser aux marchands qui les devaient acheter. Il y a pourtant encore quelque contestation là-dessus. Pour ne pas donner de soupçon mal à propos, je suis obligé de dire à Votre Majesté que cet homme se mêle de négoce aussi bien que des affaires de ses maîtres, et que, par ses démarches avec les gens qui sont bien avec la Reine, il croit venir à bout d'entrer dans quelque affaire considérable. Jusques ici, Sire, je n'en puis démêler la vérité."

Louis was clear-headed enough not to be precipitated into an exaggerated view of these events and writes in answer to De Blécourt, Sept. 19, 1700:¹

"Je ne doute pas que le sieur Schonnenberg n'ait présentement exécuté les ordres qui lui ont été envoyés de faire une déclaration semblable à celle que vous avez faite, et il est très-nécessaire que sa conduite en cette occasion ne laisse aucun lieu de douter de la parfaite intelligence que ses maîtres veulent qu'il entretienne avec nous. Je sais qu'il a fait de grandes plaintes de la conduite du comte d'Harack à son égard, lorsqu'il était question de procurer son rétablissement dans les fonctions d'envoyé des États-Généraux. Ainsi j'ai pene à croire qu'il ait eu commerce avec cet ambassadeur. Je ne serais pas surpris que, s'étant toujours mêlé de négoce, il voulût encore avoir part à l'achat de vaisseaux que le roi d'Espagne veut faire en Hollande. Mais, comme cette acquisition n'augmenterait pas les forces de l'Espagne, il est inutile de la traverser et il importe peu que cet achat se fasse ou par l'ambassadeur d'Espagne à la Haye, ou bien que le soin en soit remis à des marchands."

In the meantime the work of Louis, through his ambassador d'Harack, had been successful, and on Oct. 20, 1700, Charles II signed a will making the Duke d'Anjou his sole heir. On Nov. 1 he had finished his miserable career. When the news of the contents of the will came to Versailles, Louis made a semblance of discussing the advisability of its acceptance; but only a semblance, as his hand had arranged all the details a long time previous to this, and on Feb. 17, 1701, the new king in all his youthful glory made his solemn entry into Madrid as Philip V.

With the advent of the French régime, Schonenberg's position at Madrid, in consequence of the suspicion with which he was regarded, was becoming impossible, the more so as neither Great Britain nor the States-General had yet officially recognized the titles of the new king. How he was regarded may be seen from a letter of King Louis to Marquis d'Harcourt (who had taken up his duties again), dated Dec. 15, 1700:²

"Il est nécessaire aussi de veiller à la conduite de Schonnenberg, agent des États-Généraux. Vous savez qu'il est très-mal intentionné. Il ne faut pas cependant le faire sortir tant que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne demeurera en Hollande; mais il est bon que

¹ *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, p. 360.

la Junte lui fasse parler fortement sur le retardement que les États-Généraux apportent à reconnaître le roi d'Espagne et à le féliciter son son (sic!) avènement à la couronne."

This was done, as is attested by d'Harcourt to the king Dec. 27:¹

"On parlera à Schonnenberg, ainsi que le porte le sentiment de Votre Majesté."

That Schonenberg's days in Madrid were numbered is seen in the following letter of the king to the Marquis d'Harcourt, dated Jan. 4, 1701. An occasion was to be found to procure his dismissal, though care was to be taken not to give a chance to the States-General to act similarly with reference to the Spanish ambassador in Holland.²

"Le marquis de Legenez est toujours l'un des plus attachés à l'Empereur, et il paraît qu'il ne recherche pas seulement sa protection, mais encore celle du roi d'Angleterre. Vous connaissez le caractère d'esprit de Schonnenberg, agent de ce prince à Madrid. On ne peut trop veiller à sa conduite et les avis qui me reviennent sur son sujet confirment encore qu'il serait bon qu'on pût trouver une occasion de le faire sortir d'Espagne. Mais comme il serait difficile de l'exécuter, sans renouveler l'ancien différend et sans donner un nouveaux prétexte aux États-Généraux de ne plus reconnaître l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, il faut encore se contenter d'observer la conduite de Schonnenberg et de prévenir, autant qu'il sera possible, l'effet de ses intrigues. Son oncle sert le roi d'Espagne en qualité de son résident à Amsterdam. Comme on ne peut plus prendre aucune confiance en lui pour cet emploi, il serait nécessaire de le donner à quelqu'autre plus fidèle et attaché aux seuls intérêts du Roi Catholique."

On Jan. 27, 1701, the king returns once more to the matter; in fact, the ambassadors of all three powers were to be forced out:³

"J'approuve fort la résolution de faire sortir d'Espagne les ambassadeurs de l'Empereur, l'envoyé de l'Électeur Palatin, et de rappeler de Vienne l'ambassadeur du Roi Catholique. Mais, avant que de faire sortir le sieur Schonnenberg, il est bon de savoir quelles seront les propositions que les États-Généraux auront à me faire."

On the same day De Blécourt informed Louis that Schonenberg had had a four hours' conference with the Count of Aversberg, Austrian ambassador in Madrid:⁴

"Schonnenberg a eu depuis deux jours une conférence de quatre heures avec ledit Aversberg, dont ce dernier, à ce qu'on m'a assuré, a été très-content. . . . Le consul de la Corogne m'écrit du 16 de ce mois qu'il a débarqué en ce lieu deux Anglais: l'un pour aller en Portugal pour engager le Roi à se joindre à celui d'Angleterre, et qu'un autre est venu ici à Schonnenberg."

Two days later d'Harcourt again presses the king to remove what he considers to be a stumbling-block in the way of a complete union between France and Spain:⁵

¹ *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 389.

² *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

"J'envoie à Votre Majesté la relation de ce qui s'est passé entre le comte de San-Estevan, de Schonnenberg et lui.

"Votre Majesté verra, par la réponse de cet envoyé, qu'il n'a voulu donner que de bouche et point par écrit comme c'est la coutume, qu'il ne cherche qu'à brouiller les affaires, que ses propositions sont tout à fait contraires à l'union qui doit être présentement entre la France et l'Espagne, sur quoi je ne doute pas que Sa Majesté ne prenne une résolution prompte et convenable."

Schonenberg must have passed more than one anxious moment. He was sorely pressed in Madrid to get an official acknowledgment of Philip V from the two states that he represented. From the following letter of the Marquis d'Harcourt to King Louis, dated Victoria, Feb. 3, 1701, we learn of a peculiar mishap that threw his mail-bag into the hands of his enemies, who, of course, opened his letters.¹

"Le Cardinal ² me donne avis, par la même voie, que Schonnenberg a dit à Ubilla ³ qu'il était venu un gentilhomme du Roi son maître, chargé d'une lettre pour la Junte, en réponse à celle qui lui avait été écrite, pour lui faire part de la mort et de la disposition du feu Roi Catholique, et la Junte a ordonné à Ubilla de recevoir la lettre. C'est apparemment le nommé Alcomby, du voyage duquel Votre Majesté m'a donné avis.⁴

"L'écuyer du comte de Manchester, s'en retournant avec des lettres de Schonnenberg sur des mules et non pas par la poste, s'est noyé quelques lieues au delà de Pampelune, et le vice-roi, ayant fait repêcher l'homme et le paquet, à envoyé ses lettres à Sa Majesté Catholique par un exprès. Je n'ai fait aucune difficulté de les ouvrir. Il y en avait une pour le sieur Vernon,⁵ en français, et une autre pour le sieur Fagel, greffier des États, en hollandais. Ce qu'elles portent en substance est qu'il avait reçu des instructions de Sa Majesté Britannique pour le discours qu'il avait tenu à la Junte, disant que le Roi son maître reconnaîtrait le roi d'Espagne, si Sa Majesté Catholique voulait confirmer tous les traités précédents ou en faire de nouveaux, et en même temps, pour la sûreté des Provinces-Unies, laisser leurs troupes dans les places des Pays-Bas catholiques où elles sont présentement; qu'il avait ordre en même temps de faire connaître en secret combien il serait préjudiciable à la monarchie d'Espagne de se laisser gouverner par la France qui l'assujettirait à la fin, et pour cela il s'est adressé au marquis de Leganez et au doyen du conseil de Castille, qui marquent conserver toujours de l'affection pour l'Empereur, aussi bien que pour le roi d'Angleterre, le premier dans la vue d'obtenir un jour gouvernement des Pays-Bas qui est toujours son but. Il paraît fort peu satisfait du succès de ses insinuations, et assure qu'il n'y a rien de capable de détourner les Espagnols de suivre aveuglément les intentions de Votre Majesté. Il remarque fort la fermeté de la réponse du comte de San-Estevan, qui lui a dit que l'Espagne était tellement obligée à Votre Majesté de lui avoir donné un de ses petits-fils pour roi, qu'elle devait par reconnaissance lui sacrifier toutes choses" etc.

Continuing the preceding letter from Briviesca, Feb. 5, 1701 he says:

"J'envoie aussi à Votre Majesté la copie de la lettre que le roi d'Angleterre écrit à la Reine et à ceux de la Junte, et celle qu'Ubilla écrit au Cardinal pour lui rendre

¹ Loc. cit., II, p. 459.

² Porto Carrero.

³ "Secrétaire des despêches."

⁴ See above.

⁵ Secretary of State in Great Britain.

compte de la conversation qu'il a eue avec Schonenberg et le gentilhomme chargé de la lettre du roi d'Angleterre."

For the years 1701 and 1702 until his transfer to Lisbon we have a full account in the correspondence of Schonenberg with Vernon, the English Secretary of State.¹ They show how carefully the information about Spanish affairs was gathered by the envoy, and of what service he was to his superiors. On Feb. 22, 1701, the States-General formally acknowledged the succession of Philip V, and it was resolved to send a respectful communication to the king through Schonenberg, who was to present it with the usual compliments.² This must have taken place early in March, for in a letter to Vernon dated Mar. 23, he states this, asking whether he is to do the same in the name of King William.³ This is also related in a letter of Lord Aglionby of the same date. At the audience, Schonenberg delivered to the king the missive of the States-General, "with a short complement, to wch ye King answer'd as his predecessor used to doe: the day before, Don Antonio de Ubilla sent to him in ye King's name to speake with him and askd him if besides his complement hee had anything else to purport and the envoy told him hee had not, at wch hee seemd pleas'd: hee tooke that occasion to aske him what account there was of ye letters found about ye drowned courier wch hee expected to have restord to him. The Secretarye replied that upon enquiry, the Vice Roy of Navarr had writ word there were noe letters found about him at all." . . . The last statement was, of course, a diplomatic untruth. The letter of King William must have come during the month of May; for, on June 1, Schonenberg reports that he has delivered it to the king. In the letter to Vernon quoted above he denies, on the authority of the Portuguese envoy, the report that the king of Portugal has been won over by the French court, and he notes a growing apprehension in the country due to the vigorous resolutions passed both by the United Provinces and the English Parliament; adding that the Elector of Bavaria and the Archbishop Elector of Cologne are already on the side of France. The letters taken from the courier of the Duke of Manchester have not been recovered. He makes reference at the same time to Lord Aglionby, who had been sent upon a second mission in December, 1700.⁴ He was to give assurances of King

¹ Record Office. State Papers, Foreign Spain, 75, 1692-1705.

² De la Torre, II, 66-67.

³ Entry Book 196, p. 191, Dec. 8, 1700, p. 193.

⁴ Letter of July 24, 1701, S. P. 70.

William's good will and he was especially told, "Upon your arrival in Madrid you are forthwith to go to Mons. Schonenberg and communicate to him these our instructions, and because from his long experience in that Court he will be able to give you the best advice in all your proceedings there, you are to consult him as well, in relation to the persons you are to apply to, as to the manner of doing it, with whom you may use a greater freedom than with others, as being the best affected." . . .

The relations between Aglionby and Schonenberg were in general most cordial. The one had the greatest admiration for the other, who did all he could to further his cause. Thus Aglionby writes home on Apr. 6, 1701, referring to favors from "My Lord Godolfini,"

" . . . but if the favour hee portends me be not sudden I shall not know how to get home, for before I can have an answer to this letter, my monny heer will bee allmost at an end; therefore I once more entreate you to move his Majesty to come to a Resolution about my stay or my returne. If I may bee soe bold as to speake my opinion; it is that I am entirely useless in this place, where the experience and application of Monsr. de Schonenberg must be superior to ye capacity and endeavours of any new comer; and I am sure none can outdoe him in zeale and fidelity, soe that if the King keaps a minister heer, hee cann never have a better, nor the English nation one that protects them with more warmth and less selfishnesse."

In a letter to Vernon dated May 4, 1701, Aglionby writes:

"Since you tell me that his Majesty does not thinke it for his service at present to call mee home, I have nothing to doe but submitt to his pleasure and returne you thanks for the care you take of mee as to a new supply of monny, I hope I shall speedily feel the effects of it and I thinke ye method you propose of delivering ye 200 st. to Sir Thomas Frankland will be very well."

In a second letter sent the same day he acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Vernon but

"nothing of ye 200 str. supplye. . . . It is too hard to send me in such heat and circumstances as mine were and then take noe care of me. It looks as if I were picked out to be a sufferer," etc.

Among the many references that he makes to Schonenberg are the following: On Apr. 20 he writes: "There are neither good lodgings nor coaches nor chaires to bee hir'd, soe that were not M. Schonenberg soe kind as to accomodate mee with hys, I must have walk'd on foot," and on July 24: "As long as Schonenberg is heer, the interests of England cannot suffer, his zeale and abilities being sufficient." Once or twice, however, a slightly harsher note is struck. "M. Schonenberg . . . hee

is much out of humor of late and gives mee sometimes roome to thinke that my stay at Madrid is as uneasy to him as it is to mee: I say this onely to excuse for the future the emptynesse of my Intelligence; for I have not had any dispute or falling out with him neither shall I." . . .

Schonenberg is, furthermore, insistent upon warning the government¹ of the combination of the French and the Spanish fleets of war under the Comte de Chateaurenault to aid the Spanish colonies in America;² for he has found out that the Spanish-American ports have been put in a state of defence with the end in view of capturing Jamaica and Curaçao, should war break out. And more than this, he believes that France meditates treachery, having secret designs upon these Spanish colonies. But in a further communication³ he expresses the view that Spain can do nothing owing to the bad state of its finances and to the fact that Gibraltar is still entirely without troops. War seems to be inevitable.

He goes even further and encloses in the previous letter to Vernon one for the king's own person, pointing out the seriousness of the situation.

France, he says, is sparing no efforts to disseminate in Spain defiance of England and the United Provinces, by flattering the Republic with insidious proposals and secret negotiations in order to expose it to the suspicion of its allies and then to overwhelm the allies one by one. But the people see that this plan is known and that England and Holland are firm friends and on the alert. Porto-carrero and Don Manuel d'Arrias are the chief agents in this; they are openly partisans of France. D'Harcourt dupes them with boastful accounts of French forces and of the power of Louis over English Roman Catholics. His ideas make an impression and war appears quite inevitable, in which case Schonenberg asks whether he is to go to Lisbon or not?

The attempts of France to lure the Portuguese court into its net form also the theme of a warning note that he sends home.⁴ A courier has even passed through from Lisbon, on his way to France, with proposals of a modification in certain articles of the proposed Spanish-French-Portuguese treaty. In order to press the treaty on Portugal a fleet, full description of which is given, is to be sent to Lisbon.⁵ This

¹ Letter of Mar. 23, 1701.

² See the letter of M. de Pontchartrain to the Duke d'Harcourt in Hippeau, II, 481.

³ Letter of June 29, 1701.

⁴ Letter of Apr. 6.

⁵ Letters of Apr. 6 and 20, 1701.

fleet is gotten ready,¹ whereupon Portugal declared in favor of the treaty,² though the Portuguese envoy told him that his court was only seeking to gain time.³ The burden of his tale is continually a warning in regard to French supremacy in Spanish affairs. He does his utmost to prepare his royal master and warns him of the various phases this supremacy passes through and the vulnerable points it may be able to strike in the British armor. These points are especially two, English shipping and English commerce. There is fear in Spain that in case of war the English and Dutch might seize the West India fleet;⁴ and, on the other hand, it is proposed in Spain to try to stop the passage of the English and Dutch fleet from Smyrna,⁵ several English vessels being actually fired on in the Canaries.⁶ A special case of interference occurred in the tobacco trade, which was largely in English and Dutch hands. Acting under French influence, the king had put an embargo upon the introduction of Virginian tobacco and had given orders that all at present in the kingdom should be withdrawn or destroyed within ten months.⁷ He has the matter constantly in hand,⁸ even taking an audience with the king on the matter. Owing to French influence, the decree will not be withdrawn, but its severity mitigated in execution,⁹ though he has not yet gotten a reply to King William's note about the whole matter.¹⁰ Finally, his Catholic Majesty decides to retain the tobacco embargo, but orders that the tobacco already in the country shall be bought up by the government.¹¹ He has his eyes open everywhere. At one moment some French merchants, assisted by naturalized English Roman Catholics, attempt to bar English products in Spain;¹² then the English wine-merchants at Malaga are treated in a high-handed manner:¹³ the justices sold the wine that had been seized, and although Schonenberg obtained a decree regulating the matter, the French endeavored to have it nullified.¹⁴ He finally had the matter settled.¹⁵

His letters are full of suggestions as to the proper course to be pursued. He strongly advises the seizure of the Mexican fleet, in which were the entire resources of Spain,¹⁶ and the invasion of Cadiz and Gibraltar,¹⁷ and upon the death of James he warns Vernon of a new French

¹ Letter of May 18, 1701.

² Letter of June 25, 1701.

³ Letter of June 29, 1701.

⁴ Letter of June 1, 1701.

⁵ Letter of May 4, 1701.

⁶ Letter of Oct. 5 (two letters), Nov. 7, 30, 1701.

⁷ Letters of Oct. 5, 19, 20, Nov. 18, Apr. 19, 1702.

⁸ Letter of Sept. 7, 1701.

⁹ Letter of Nov. 30, 1701.

¹⁰ Letter of May 18, 1701.

¹¹ Letter of June 29, 1701.

¹² Letter of July 13, 1701.

¹³ Letter of Aug. 18, 1701.

¹⁴ Letter of Aug. 24, 1701.

¹⁵ Letter of June 25, 1701.

¹⁶ Letter of Sept. 21, 1701.

¹⁷ Letter of Sept. 21, 1701.

plan to put forward James' son on King William's death.¹ He even writes to the queen a letter of condolence on King William's death.² Some of his correspondence is addressed directly to the king, and a few letters at the end are sent to the Earl of Manchester, who had succeeded to the place of Vernon.

Of Schonenberg's private affairs we learn very little even from these letters. He must have occasionally felt the hand of necessity. He writes in one place as if he had no fixed salary as English representative, that for all that he has done and for all his expenses on behalf of the government he has received no reimbursement, no compensation.³ He must have asked for some such reimbursement, as he wants the name of some agent upon whom he may draw for the sum,⁴ evidently referring to £1000 sent to him by the king as a "gratification,"⁵ which he must have gotten through his relative Baron de Belmonte — called one of his intimate friends — who came to see Vernon in reference to it.⁶ At the end, he thanks Vernon for appointing a Mr. Adlard Welby to receive the £1000 and presents Vernon with £100 "to buy a pair of gloves for Madam V." He does not speak of himself in a vainglorious manner; but it was a satisfaction for him to report that he was *persona grata* at the Spanish court, the king having said to him on one occasion, "soyez aussi persuadé, Monsieur, de l'affection et de la considération que j'ai pour vostre personne."⁷ The real cause that occasioned his leaving Madrid has been seen in the letters quoted above that passed between Louis XIV and the Marquis d'Harcourt.

We have direct evidence that the change was not due to any dissatisfaction on the part of the English crown with his services in Madrid, but rather to his own sense of his uselessness now that the French authorities and the Spanish acting under their advice were literally "freezing him out." In the correspondence he had in regard to his passports with Don Josef Perez de la Puente, he does not scruple to say:

"Je viens de recevoir un billet de V. S.^{te}, daté d'aujourd'huy en Réponce de celui que je fis passer entre ses mains le . . . du mois courant par lequel je demandaj a V. S. de participier a Sa Maj. que me trouvant depuis une année en deca, sans réponce a differens offices que j'avois présenté au sujet des affaires de la plus grande importance, je jougeois, que la continuation de ma résidence en cette courcy étoit devenue inutile au service de mes maistres, au lieu que ma rétraite ne

¹ Letters of Oct. 19, Nov. 2 and 17, 1701; Apr. 6, 1702.

² Letter of Apr. 20, 1702.

³ Letter of July 28, 1701.

⁴ Letter of Sept. 21, 1701.

⁵ Letter of Oct. 19, 1701.

⁶ Letter of Nov. 30, 1701.

⁷ Letter of July 13, 1701.

le seroit pas, puisqu'elle serviroit uniquement a éviter l'augmentation des motifs de désassaisonnemens de facon que pour l'exécuter j'aj requis les passeports ordinaires exprimant aussi en passant (quoyqu'entièrement comme un simple accessoire) la nouveauté du refus que le Conducteur d'Ambassadeurs a fait a mes Gens de donner le certificat de ma Résidence ne m'étant servy en tout cela que de paroles générales. . . ."

We are not enlightened as to the actual incident that preceded his going. Schonenberg must have been fully alive to the coming change. On Nov. 2, 1701, he writes to King William to say that France has ordered Spain to send an ambassador to acknowledge the son of James II, and he demands his instructions whether he is to take down the Royal Arms from his house and substitute those of the United Provinces. Some discussion must subsequently have been had. From a letter to the States-General dated Dec. 29, 1701, it appears that he had already removed the Arms of England from his house.¹ The Duke of Manchester, at a date which was probably February or March, 1702, in announcing his own appointment to Vernon's position, expresses his satisfaction that Schonenberg had removed the Arms of England from his house in conformity with the special orders, and he expresses the hope that, although Schonenberg can no longer be regarded as an English minister at the court, he will continue his correspondence. A secret resolution of the States-General dated Feb. 25, 1702, authorized him to go to Portugal, should he retire from Spain.²

On Apr. 20, 1702, he writes to the Duke of Manchester that he is quite ready to go to Portugal as soon as his health is better. This letter is crossed by one from Manchester dated Apr. 21, 1702. Having heard that Schonenberg is shortly to leave Madrid for Lisbon, he suggests that he might come from there to London with a certain Methuen. He must have left for Lisbon quite early in May; for according to a second secret resolution of the States-General dated May 8, 1702, he was to take part as plenipotentiary in the negotiations with Methuen sent by the queen of England to Portugal in order to confirm an alliance between the emperor, the queen of England, Portugal and the Dutch Republic.³ On Apr. 21, he writes from Lisbon, to which city he must have come. The reference here is evidently to one of the two treaties secretly made by Austria in the year 1702, which became known only in 1703. The one detached the Duke of Savoy from the Spanish

¹ *Generality*, June 13, 1704, p. 669.

² De la Torre, IV, 38.

³ In the Archives of The Hague.

and French crowns, although he was father-in-law of King Philip and of the Duke of Bourgogne. The second drew the king of Portugal away from a similar treaty that he had made. The first was negotiated by the Marquis de Prié and "le Sieur Saevay," councillor of the emperor; the Portuguese by Dom Diego de Mendoza, who had been Portuguese minister at Madrid, and Dom François Schonenberg.

Schonenberg's last letters from Spain to Holland are few in number and treat of the general political condition of the country,¹ of court news,² and of the embargo placed upon the sale of foreign tobacco,³ about which he had likewise communicated with the king of England. His letters to the States-General from Portugal, of which there is almost an uninterrupted series from 1703 up till the time of his death in 1717 (1706-1709 excepted), are of far smaller interest than were those from Spain. It is true that his official position was bettered. In the reports on the first four missives⁴ he is styled simply as he formerly was, "de saken van desen Staet aen het Hof van Portugal waernemende," i.e., chargé d'affaires. On Nov. 29, 1703,⁵ he is styled "Extraordinary Envoyé"⁶ and he remains such to the end. He had thus reached the height of his ambition. Whether it was easier to confer such a title in Lisbon than in Madrid is uncertain; perhaps especial influence had been brought to bear to give him that which was legitimately his due. His financial situation seems to have been bettered in like manner. On June 13, 1704, his request for increased salary was granted. He was getting 18 guilders a day in general; and in addition 10 guilders a day from the Admiralty, i.e., ten thousand guilders a year. He was now to get (extra) 12 guilders as extraordinary envoy and seventeen stivers (a day ?) for travelling expenses.⁷ Should he however return to Spain, he was to get again 10 guilders a day from the Admiralty and 18 "dagh geldt." The only reference found to such matters is in a letter to the Admiralty, in whose service he was, from the States-General of the United Netherlands dated Apr. 27, 1716, containing a request of the advocate Jan van der Burght, representative of Schonenberg in his mother-country. It is a request for his salary and for the reimbursement of monies expended during the first six months of the year

¹ *Resol.*, Jan. 5, 1701, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1701, p. 114.

³ June 11, 1701, p. 246.

⁴ *Resol.*, Feb. 15, 1703, p. 78; Feb. 20, p. 87; April 7, p. 227; May 24, p. 351.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 639.

⁶ Occasionally he is entitled "Minister," *Resol.*, May 28, 1717, p. 231.

⁷ *Generaliteyt*, 1704, p. 669.

1710 amounting to 7448 gulden and 15 stivers, which were ordered to be paid at once.

In the year 1706, for some reason or other, there must have been some talk of his returning to Madrid, perhaps only temporarily. He asks for letters and credentials to that end. As there is a break in the correspondence between the years 1706 and 1709, it is impossible to follow the matter up any further.¹ J. Scheltema in his *Staatkundig Nederland* has also some such remark, "eens werd hij gebruky als Envoye in Portugal, erlangde in 1710 op zijn verzoek den titel en rang als buitengewoon gezant in Spanje en Vertrok nog eens naar Portugal." Perhaps the extraordinary expenses for the year 1710 mentioned above have reference to such a displacement.

The latter part of Schonenberg's correspondence is wanting entirely in general interest. Lisbon was not a storm centre as was Madrid, and matters of moment to Europe in general were discussed elsewhere. With very few exceptions it treats of commercial questions that had arisen between Portugal and Holland and rarely touch subjects of a wider view. It is seldom that he is even led to describe the court and the parties there; but the negotiations regarding the alliance between the two countries do claim his attention.² He seems to lay some stress upon it, especially upon the clause dealing with the East India Company;³ and he is quite assiduous in getting equal entry privileges for Dutch goods, especially for Dutch wool according to the Convention of Aug. 6, 1674;⁴ the Portuguese, of course, to have equal rights in the West Indian trade, or to be induced by a reduction of one third in the duty on Portuguese wine introduced into Holland.⁵ It was the heyday of preferential tariffs, such as would have delighted some modern English statesmen. Upon another occasion, four English ships had come from the East Indies and had anchored in Bahia de Todos los Santos (Brazil?), where they had done a brisk trade in East Indian and European goods to the detriment of Portuguese and Dutch commerce. As this was not one of the ports specified in the treaties, a protest is

¹ *Resol.*, Aug. 11, 1706, p. 522.

² *Ibid.*, May 24, 1703, p. 301. De la Torre says that the Duke de Moles, Spanish representative at Vienna, in 1702 got much information about the secret affairs in Holland "du Monsieur de Schonenberg, Ministre des États Généraux en Espagne, & du Manuel Baron de Belmonte qui étoit Résident de ce Roiaume à Amsterdam." (Vol. III, p. 12.)

³ *Resol.*, Dec. 22, 1703, p. 684.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1704, p. 497, June 17, 1705, p. 251, Oct. 22, 1705, p. 440, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 9, 1705, p. 234.

forwarded to the Duke of Galloway.¹ Two other questions occupy the envoy's attention in a large number of letters. One was the high duty put upon "sout," so that it came to be imported from France, to the detriment of both countries. Many resolutions were passed in Amsterdam and many letters sent to Schonenberg to press the matter,² which was regulated only on Jan. 10, 1715.³ The second was the capture of a Turkish ship coming from Morocco and commanded by the Admiral Benasche, by the *Griffiaen* and the *Vliegende Mercurius*. The first communication is made on July 24, 1711,⁴ and the last in September, 1714.⁵ The "Emperor of Morocco" intervened, but finally agreed that the ship should be sold and the contents transported to Salee.⁶

Schonenberg's activity was suddenly cut short by an apoplectic stroke on Mar. 13, 1717, if the supposition regarding his birth is correct, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The news was forwarded on Mar. 16 to the Admiralty by Abraham Heysterman, Dutch consul at Lisbon.⁷ In the same letter Heysterman says that he endeavored to have the Coat of Arms of the Dutch Republic kept on the envoy's house, as it is permitted then to hold their (Protestant) religious services there, and he also asks to be appointed Schonenberg's successor, seeing that he has acted as consul for the past fifteen years. On Mar. 30 Heysterman forwarded an inventory of all the belongings of the late envoy, which he had drawn up together with some merchant friends of the deceased.⁸ No will was discovered and no state affairs of importance were in progress. It is expressly stated that Schonenberg employed no secretary; all his papers were packed in three trunks by Heysterman himself, who writes to know what to do with them. He was ordered to pack up all the papers and on first occasion forward them to the Admiralty, who gave assurance that any private papers would be forwarded by them to the proper persons. Finally, on June 22, Heysterman writes that the proprietor of the house in which Schonenberg had lived had taken possession of the same, it being impossible for him (the consul) to intervene. All that he and the majordomo (of Schonenberg?) could do was to carry many of Schonenberg's effects to a neighboring house. What Heysterman complains of most is that "door deze veranderingh

¹ *Resol.*, Dec. 18, 1709, p. 621. Perhaps the Earl of Galway is meant.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1710, Jan. 23, 1711, Nov. 15, 1714.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1715, p. 37.

⁴ *Resol.*, Sept. 19, 1711.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1714, p. 516.

⁶ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1714, p. 271.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1717, p. 200.

⁸ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1717, p. 231.

hadden verloren de exercitie van de Gereformeerde Religie en de protectie voor de Natie, hebbende de Nederlandsche Kooplieden geen schuylplaats." This must have been severely felt by the Dutch residents in Lisbon, who had evidently used the envoy's house as a meeting-place for reformed services. Heysterman endeavored to have such privilege transferred to his own dwelling, but without success, the British and Swedish consuls having received a similar refusal.¹

It will be seen from the above account that François de Schonenberg served the States-General of the Netherlands for thirty-nine years, from 1678 to 1717, and that for over twenty years he was also in the service of the British crown. Koenen affirms that in 1709, because of his services against France, the Archduke, later Emperor Charles VI, made him marquis of a seignory in Brabant, "according to a letter still in possession of his family." No clue has been found to substantiate this statement, and there is reason to believe that it is due to a confusion of Schonenberg with the Baron de Belmonte, whose patent of nobility dates from the same year. Such outward symbols of honor would in no way affect one's estimation of the man's worth; his many years of service are evidence sufficient that he lived a useful and interesting life.

¹ *Resol.*, July 27, 1717, p. 327.

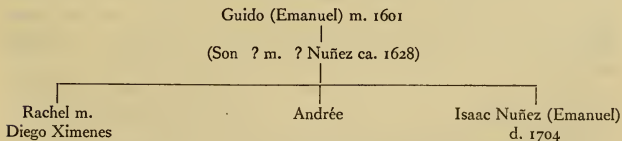
CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND BRANCH IN AMSTERDAM



JUST AS THE FIRST BRANCH OF THE family is made famous by the presence of the diplomatist, the Marquis de Schonenberg, so is the second by that of another diplomatist, Don Emanuel de Belmonte, and by the intermarriage of various of its members with representatives of famous Marano families. But, before busying ourselves with the immediate family, it is necessary to consider for a moment the connection of this branch with the one discussed in former chapters and with the general line of the family descent. In the notes

of Da Costa I find a reference to a Rachel Belmonte who married Diego Ximenes. From them the branch of the Ximenes-Belmonte is derived. This Rachel was a sister of Baron Emanuel and his brother Andrée. As we have seen above, Guido or Emanuel Belmonte was the ancestor of the Ximenes-Belmonte. Now, Emanuel Baron de Belmonte died in 1704 and was in the service of the king of Spain in 1674. He must, therefore, have been born between 1630 and 1635. Guido married in 1601 and may well have had issue in 1602 or 1603. This issue may have married ca. 1628 and have been the father of Rachel and her brothers. We should then have the following pedigree:



Emanuel was known in the Synagogue as Isaac Nuñez-Belmonte. It is probable, therefore, that his mother's family name was Nuñez.

A member of the Nuñez-Belmonte branch was a certain Rebecca Nuñez-Belmonte; but what her exact relationship was, it is impossible to make out. In a manuscript found in the Montezinos Library at Amsterdam I have come across a copy of her grave-inscription. It reads:

מצבת הגבירה מרת רבקה נ"נים בילמוני נפטרה לניולמה ונקברה יום י"ב לחדש אייר
שנת ה'תקנ"א לפ"ק

i.e., "Tombstone of the excellent mistress Rebecca Nuñez-Belmonte who was taken to her everlasting home and was buried on the 12th day of the month Iyyar, in the year MMMMMLIII, according to the small cycle," i.e., 1793. Then follows a poetical tombstone-inscription written by Moses Hayyim Marpurgo, who has added the following translation in Italian:

SPIEGA DELL' EPITAFIO IN VERSI ITALIANI

Della giusta piangnon molti la morte
Pupilli e vedove, sì lagnán forte,
(Dicendo) or il vessillo è cadutto,
Ove soccorso aurem? ou auito
Frà le concittadine fù essa distinta
In atti di Pièta, non fu mai vinta
Un coro Angelico allor si fe udire
Fra voi pellegrino or ci noi si dè unire
Rebecca Pietos a discere al Fonte
Colmo l' Orcio, salì, si fè Nunes Bel Monte
In segno di profondo Ossequio
Moise Vita Morpurgo.

It looks very much as if this Rachel had died in Italy. The Morpurgos (i.e., coming from Marburg) are a well-known Italian family.¹ However that may be, Rebecca Belmonte was married to her husband, Joseph Fernandes Nuñez, in Amsterdam in June, 1751, as is proven by another manuscript in the same library,² containing a long poem in honor of this marriage. It is entitled: *Ter Bruilofte van den Heere Joseph Fernandes Nuñez en Jongkvrouwe Rebecca Belmonte — Echtelyk vereenigt den 30^{ste} van Zommermaand des Jaares MDCCLI.*³

The relationship above suggested for Baron Emanuel is supported by the fact that his name was similar to that of his grandfather. Of his

¹ Emilio Morpurgo (1836-1885) was an economist of repute; and at an earlier date (in the seventeenth century) a Samson Morpurgo distinguished himself as a Hebrew scholar.

² From Da Costa's collection; see the *Catalogue* of his library cited above, No. 2613.

³ For another Nuñez-Belmonte, see at the end of the following chapter.

brother Andrée, Koenen¹ and Da Costa² say that he acted as agent-general of the king of Spain in the Netherlands previous to his brother Emanuel, a statement vouched for by the patent of his brother Emanuel, which expressly calls attention to the good services rendered to the Spanish crown by Andrée. But I have been unable to find any further references to this Andrée, either in the Spanish or the Dutch archives, nor any mention in the papers of the Portuguese-Jewish community at Amsterdam. It seems probable that he had no connection with the Jewish community, and the greater fame of his brother seems to have thrown him so completely into the shade that nothing more than his name has come down in history.

As we have seen, Emanuel's sister, Rachel, married Diego Ximenes, member of a family also well-known in the Portuguese-Jewish annals. The poet Miguel de Barrios sang her praise in the following verses:

"Una es Raguel como Raguel hermosa
Prudente y virtuosa,
Digna hermana del Conde Palatino
Don Manuel, Baron digno de Belmonte
Residente de España peregrino,
En Belgico Horizonte."³

which may be translated: "One is Rachel, comely like Rachel, prudent and virtuous, worthy sister of the Count Palatine Don Manuel, the excellent Baron De Belmonte, Resident of Spain in far-off Belgium."

Of their two children, Sara and Francisco (whose Synagogue name is unknown), the latter was the third member of the family to play a diplomatic rôle as Francisco de Ximenes Belmonte.⁴ When his uncle Emanuel died in 1704, he succeeded him as Resident of the king of Spain in the Netherlands,⁵ and it was probably to him that the poet De Barrios dedicated in 1726 his poetical work, *Comedias nuevas de los más célebres autores*. He is there styled "M. Ximenes Baron de Belmonte." But when the Bourbons ascended the throne of Spain, the office of the Resident was abolished. The daughter Sara married a member of her father's family, one Isaac, son of Solomon Levi-Ximenes. The issue of this

¹ *Geschiednis der Joden*, p. 184.

² Private manuscript papers of Da Costa.

³ See his *Lamentacion Fúnebre* on Isaac Levy-Ximenes (5455 = 1695) in his *Opusculs*, III, 291.

⁴ See, e.g., Jos. Levi Ximenes Pereira in Hamburg; Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 126; Gaster, *History of the Bevis Marks Congregation*, p. 146. On other Ximenes-Belmontes see preceding chapter.

⁵ *Resoluiten van Holland*, June 15, 1706; Koenen, *loc. cit.*, p. 207; Da Costa, *loc. cit.*, pp. 287, 431. See Da Costa, *Catalogue*, No. 2583.

marriage, Gracia Levi-Ximenes-Belmonte, was married in 1708 to Moses Curiel, alias Jeromino Nuñez da Costa.

No connection could have been more advantageous than this, the Curiel family being perhaps, both in wealth and position, the most noted among the Portuguese families at Amsterdam. It died out in the male line at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but all through the eighteenth it held its own. The ancestral house was for many years pointed out in the Joden-Heerengracht, over against the Bestedeling-huis, and representations of it were freely vended. It was quite near that of the Belmontes, and is to be seen on the picture of the latter house in the possession of Mr. August Belmont of New York.¹ The original ancestor of this family, which became so puissant in both Hamburg and Amsterdam, was Duarte Nuñez, who lived in the sixteenth century and is supposed by Da Costa to be identical with Duarte Nunes de Leao, Portuguese historian and judge, the same that defended the rights of Philip II to the throne of Portugal against the Dominican Texeira.² He had six male children bearing various family-names. One of them — it is worth mentioning — Francisco de Vitoria, became archbishop of Mexico. Another, Dr. Jeronimo Nuñez Ramirez, died in Lisbon in 1609, a well-known physician, author of such works as: *Treatise on Blood-Letting* and *De ponderibus et mensuris Romanorum, Graecorum et veterum Hispanorum*.³ He was married to Maria da Fonseca, daughter of Dr. Lopo da Fonseca, body-physician to Queen Catherine of Portugal, the wife of King John III. In the year 1628, the bones of Maria da Fonseca were carried to Holland and buried in the Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk on the Amstel. Jeronimo had eleven children. Of these Duarte Nuñez da Costa, alias Jacob Curiel, born at Lisbon, 1587, lived for some time at Florence. He married Ines Lopez Jorge, alias Lea Abas, and he did yeoman's service in favor of Don Duarte de Bragança, brother of King John IV of Portugal, who in 1640 was confined by the German emperor in the Castle of Milan, where he died after eight years' imprisonment.⁴

Before that time even, Duarte Nuñez, then living in Hamburg, was raised to a baronetcy (Fidalgo da Casa Real) by the king of Portugal,

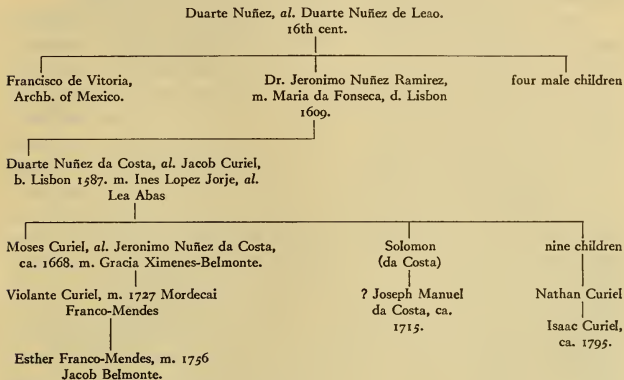
¹ "La Maison du Baron Belmonte . . . eau forte (p. R. de Hooghe?) av. adr. de P. Persoy. 4." *Catalogue* of Da Costa, No. 2826. See Frontispiece.

² Bayle, *Dict. bistor. et critique*, s. v. Texeira, note K.

³ Nicholas Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispanica Nova*, s. v.

⁴ De Barrios, *Coro de las Musas*, p. 228.

whose Resident he was.¹ His second son, Solomon, followed him in this office, while his eldest son, Moses Curiel, alias Jeronimo Nuñez da Costa, filled the same position in Amsterdam and was followed in it by his descendants down to Isaac, son of Nathan Curiel, in 1795.² It was this Moses Curiel whom Gracia Ximenes-Belmonte married. A sketch genealogical tree may be reconstructed as follows:



It will be seen that the daughter of Moses Curiel and Gracia Ximenes-Belmonte was Violante Curiel, who in 1727 married Mordecai Franco-Mendes, of a family also well-known in the annals of the congregation, a member of which family was the author of the history of the community mentioned in the Introduction. The daughter of Mordecai and Violante, Esther Franco-Mendes, married in 1756 Jacob Belmonte, the son of Solomon Belmonte and Rachel da Costa, thus rejoining the two branches of the Belmonte line, with an infusion of blood from the Ximenes, Curiel and Franco-Mendes families.

Our knowledge of this branch of the family extends for two generations further. Jacob Belmonte had issue, one son (b. 1757), who bore the same name as his father, but who also bore the title "François Ridder

¹ "Cavallero y Agente"; see Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 308.

² E.g., Joseph Manuel da Costa was consul of Spain at Amsterdam. See *Resol. van Holland*, Dec. 14, 1715, p. 193.

van Schonenberg." He married Simha da Costa, of which branch of that family is not recorded. They had issue, two daughters. The older, Esther, married in 1796 a Doctor Chevallier, the younger, Hanna, in 1800 Isaac da Costa, the historian, and the one to whom much of our knowledge of the family is due. Isaac da Costa, it seems, joined the Christian Church, but preserved a strong love for his race and a deep interest in their fortunes. Of this, his work *Israel en de Volken* is signal proof.

The genealogical chart which I have drawn up and which will be found in Appendix XII is also nothing more than a sketch pedigree. It attempts merely to give an account of those members of the family who are, if I may use the expression, in the direct line of descent; and as it is based largely upon the notes gathered by Mr. Isaac da Costa, the line of descent has reference to his wife rather than to the importance of the persons that figure upon it. Where special mention is not made that one child was the only issue, it is to be assumed that there were more children born of the marriage. But even if Mr. da Costa had had a wider purview, he would have had the same difficulty that now confronts us of making anything definite out of the scattered names and notes dealing with persons who undoubtedly belonged to one or the other offshoot of the parent stem. I take it that for the purpose of drawing up a *mémoire* on the subject, Mr. da Costa had carefully searched through the dozens of folio volumes and all other documents that make up the valuable archives of the Portuguese-Jewish community in Amsterdam. The names and the dates that he had found he had put together in chronological order upon stray slips of paper. I give them according to his arrangement, adding, however, to the Synagogue date in each case its equivalent according to the current method of dating.

A. List of members of the community (?)

- 5430 (1669) Jacob, son of Solomon (?) Belmonte.
- 5438 (1677) Moses, son of Jacob B.
- 5443 (1682) Jos(eph), son of Jacob B.
- 5450 (1689) Immanuel Levy Ximenes B.
- 5460 (1669) Aron, son of Isaac Pereira B.
- 5474 (1713) Samuel, son of Jacob B.
- 5478 (1717) Solomon Ximenes B.
- 5486 (1725) Solomon B.
- 5486 (1725) Rachel B.
- 5489 (1728) Jacob, son of Solomon B.
- 5490 (1729) Immanuel Ximenes B.

5496 (1735) Joseph de Lima B.
 5501 (1741) Esther Levy Ximenes B. de Pinto.
 5502 (1741) Rachel Levy Ximenes B.

B. List of Belmontes buried in the Jewish cemetery at Ouderkerk on the Amstel, made up from the official lists of the cemetery accounts. The dates of the month according to the Jewish calendar are given:

<i>Regel</i> 3.	Hezekiah, son of Saml. Belmonte,	24 Kislev	5456 (1695)	
	Jacob, son of Saml. Belmonte	24 Sebat	5503 (1743)	
	Abigail Belmonte de Mottos	24 Ellul	5517 (1757)	
<i>Regel</i> 4.	Saml. Belmonte	4 Hesvan	5435 (1674)	
	Rebecca zyne vrouw	10 Tishri	5456 (1695)	
<i>Regel</i> 13.	Joseph Belmonte	7 Sivan	5433 (1673)	
	Hana Belmonte	17 Tamus	5460 or 5410 (1700 or 1650)	
<i>Letter K.</i>	Joseph Belmonte	9 Adar	5447 (1687)	
	Lea zyne vrouw	6 Hesvan	5445 (1684)	
<i>Letter L.</i>	Jacob zoon v. Jb. Belmonte	14 Hesvan	5448 (1687)	
<i>Letter O.</i>	Abraham Belmonte	5 Adar	5429 (1669)	
	Isaac v. Abraham Belmonte	24 Tishri	5425 (1664)	
<i>Letter P.</i>	Aron zoon v. Jb. de Isaac Belmonte	25 Tamus	5445 (1685)	
	Isaac Belmonte	26 Adar	5421 (1661)	
	Ester zyne vrouw	7 Sivan	5444 (1684)	
	Sara Nunes Belmonte	25 Adar	5421 (1661)	
<i>Letter Q.</i>	Abraham zoon v. Jacob v. Isaac Belmonte	19 Nisan	5441 (1681)	
	Jacob Belmonte	17 Tishri	5435 (1674)	
	Rachel Belmonte	9 Tebet	5441 (1680)	
	Abraham v. Isaac Belmonte	2 Ellul	5455 (1695)	
	Sara Belmonte	4 Sivan	5453 (1693)	
<i>Regel</i> 2.	Moses Belmonte			
	Abraham Nunes Belmonte	7 Adar	5426 (1666)	
3.	David zoon v. Isaac Belmonte	7 Chesvan	5436 (1675)	
<i>Regel</i> 8.	Jacob Belmonte	19 Kislef	5390 (1629)	
	Benjamin Belmonte		5436 (1675)	
	Abigail zyne vrouw	21 Sebat	5451 (1691)	
<i>Regel</i> 10.	Simcha vrouw v. Jb. Belmonte			
	Isaac Nunes Belmonte (alias Manl. B.) gestorve		5464 (1703)	
	Wiens zoon hy was in Ketubothboek (i.e., Marriage lists).			
	Had hy een broeder Andrée?			
	Op panta dotar 1675 (5436) komt voor: Isaac B.			
	Isaac B.			
	Abraham di Isaac B.			
	Isaac di Jb. B. (dec. di Yb. B.)			
	Abraham Belmonte			
	Jacob di Dd. B. (id)			

Op panta id van 1688 (5449)
 Jacob v. Dd. Belmonte (id)
 Isaac Belmonte
 Abraham di. Is. Belmonte
 Isaac v. Jb. Belmonte (id)
 Joseph di Jb. B.
 Isaac Nufies Belmonte
 Op panta id 1703 (5464)
 Jacob di Dd. B. (dec. Jb. B.)
 Isaac di Jb. B. (id)
 Joseph di Jb. B.
 Isaac Nufies B.

Volgens Ketubothboek tu Secretarii is Isaac v. Jb. Belmonte gehuwd met Rachel Ergas Henriques 5438 (1678).

C. In Elec. Boek als parn. v. Etz Haim (i.e., heads of the Academy):

5408 (1647) Isaac Israel Belmonte
 5410 (1649) " " "
 5417 (1656) Isaac Israel Belmonte
 5420 (1659) Jacob Belmonte
 5424 (1663) Isaac Belmonte
 5430 (1669) Jacob Belmonte
 5436 (1675) Isaac Belmonte
 5441 (1680) " "
 5443 (1682) Jacob di Is. Belmonte
 5446 (1685) Isaac

D. Parnassyn (i.e., President, Board of Trustees of Synagogue) volgens Electubook.

5404 (1643) Isaac Belmonte
 5409 (1648) " "
 5413 (1652) Jacob Belmonte
 5414 (1653) Isaac Belmonte
 5419 (1658) Jacob Belmonte
 5421 (1660) Isaac Belmonte
 5423 (1662) Jacob Belmonte
 5425 (1664) Isaac
 5426 (1665) Jacob
 5429 (1668) Isaac
 5432 (1671) Jacob
 5433 (1672) Isaac

E. Selection from list of unmarried men in the year 1675 from a Ms. in the Montizinos Library.¹

¹ Evidently the one mentioned as coming from the library of Da Costa. See also De Castro, *De Synagogue*, p. xlviii.

David de Imanuel Abinatar
 Ishac de Jahacob Belmonte
 Ishac Nunes Belmonte
 Jahacob de Abraham

F. Selection from list of married men in the same year.

Abraham Belmonte
 Abraham de Ishac Belmonte
 David Barug del Brazil
 Abraham Castro del Brazil
 Eliasar de Solis
 Ishac Belmonte
 Jahacob de Ishac Belmonte
 Immanuel Abenatar, Hazzan
 Samuel Belmonte

G. List of the year 5436 (1675), perhaps as members of the Synagogue.

Isaac B.
 Isaac, son of Jacob B. (dec. [descendant] di Jb. B.)
 Abraham, son of Isaac B.
 Abraham B.
 Jacob, son of David B.

H. List of the year 5449 (1688).

Jacob, son of David B.
 Isaac B.
 Abraham, son of Isaac B.
 Isaac, son of Jacob B.
 Joseph, son of Jacob B.
 Isaac Nunes B.

I. List of the year 5464 (1703).

Jacob, son of David B.
 Isaac, son of Jacob B. (?)
 Joseph, son of Jacob B.
 Isaac Nunes B.

A great many of the foregoing names can be identified as belonging to members either of the aforementioned or the following branches of the family. A number, however, remain quite unknown and belong probably to side lines in which the historians have evidently had no interest. The lists, however, have been of use in fixing the dates of some of those mentioned in the text.

CHAPTER VII

MANUEL, BARON DE BELMONTE



ONE OF THE CHIEF LUSTRES OF AMSTERDAM

Jewry in the second half of the seventeenth century was that member of the Belmonte family that bore in his public dealings the forename Emanuel or Manuel. His long continued services to the Spanish State are easily matched by his equally long services to the religious community in which he was born and bred. During all his days, from early manhood up, he was not only a member of the Synagogue, but one of its leaders, foremost in its chief charitable organizations and equally interested in its literary and artistic aspirations.

Following the practice usual among Jews, especially of the Sephardic rite, he had what may be called a more specifically Jewish name, which he used in connection with the Synagogue, Isaac Nuñez Belmonte. To what branch of the family he belonged the documents at our disposal fail to reveal, the family papers that undoubtedly existed having unfortunately not come down to us. But the difficulty can be solved with some amount of probability. In the year 1604, as we have seen, Guido de Schonenberg (or Belmonte), one of the sons of Bartholomew Sampayo Belmonte, returned to the Jewish faith and on so doing took the name Emanuel. He is said to have been the ancestor of the Ximenes-Belmontes. Now Diego Ximenes, from whose marriage into the Belmonte family there came the double family-name Ximenes-Belmonte, had as wife Rachel Belmonte, the sister of Baron Manuel. In Jewish families it is quite the custom for the grandson to receive the same name as that borne by the grandfather. The supposition is therefore warranted that Guido (= Emanuel) was the grandfather of the Baron Emanuel who is the subject of this chapter, especially as the dates are not out of



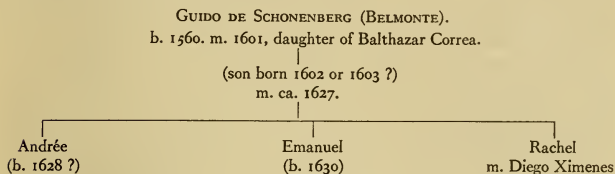
HESTER HEBRAE GENTIS CONSER-



VATRIX HAMANO PERNICIEM STRUIT

מלכי מים לב סוף בודי על כל אשר יחפץ יטני

keeping with this supposition. Guido married in 1601. A son may have been born to him during the early years of the century, about 1602 or 1603. If this son married at about the age of 25 (ca. 1627 or 1628), he might have had a son ca. 1630, who in 1665 might well have occupied a responsible position in the service of a foreign state. This son would be our Emanuel. We note that he had a brother, Andrée, who was also in the service of the Spanish crown, and a sister Rachel. We should then get the following probable pedigree:



In the manuscript history of the Amsterdam Sephardic congregation,¹ David Franco Mendes tells us that Emanuel was in the service of the king of Spain from the year 1665, first as agent-general and then as Resident from the year 1679. A long and arduous search in the archives of the Amsterdam community was finally rewarded by the discovery of a copy of the patent of nobility conferred upon Belmonte June 11, 1693. The original was not to be found in Madrid; but search for it was made at Brussels, for Belmonte was more particularly in the service of the Spanish Netherlands, as is seen from the attempts made to have him recognized at The Hague. And in Brussels the original was found. It contains so excellent a survey of the services which King Charles II himself recognized as having been rendered by his agent, that it is here cited in full:

Patent of Nobility.

(Having mentioned all the titles of "Charles Roi de Castille, de Leon et d'Aragon" it continues):²

"notre cher et bien aime Emanuel de Belmonte et de bons et fidels services qu'il nous auroit rendu et continue encore de rendre depuis vingt huit années en ca, les quatorze premiers en qualite de notre Agent General, et les restantes en celle de Rezydent en

¹ *Memorias do Estabelecimento e progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espannoles en esta famosa Cidade de Amsterdam*, p. 153. Gives a résumé of the patent.

² The spelling has been preserved as in my copy of the original.

Hollande avec tant de satisfaction, que par les experiences qu'on auroit eu de sa personne l'on lui auroit commis la direction des affaires les plus importantes de la Monarchie, qui s'y presenteroient ayant par sa disposition avancé les armemens maritimes que les Hollandais envoyeroient à la recuperation de Messine et que durant la guerre de ce tems là tous les payemens des subsides aux Princes allies auroient passer par ses mains, qu'il auroit aussi assiste à l'Armement particulier des fregates qui s'envoyeroient à Messine pour y renforcer les Armes Navales, que lors que Dⁿ Manuel de Lira estoit parti de Hollande, le Duc de Villa Hermoza lors Gouverneur-General de nos Pays bas, lui auroit ordonné de passer à la Haye pour y veiller aux affaires qui s'y presenteroient de notre service ce qu'il auroit fait avec tant de success qu'il auroit traversé les deligances de l'Ambassadeur de France, pour attirer les Hollandais à son parti et fait connoître aux Etats-Generaux leur veritable interest, d'où sauroit concue l'Alliance avec l'Angleterre la quelle auroit detenu les vastes desseins du Roy tres-cretien, que des qu'il se seroit dedie à notre service, il sauroit continuellement appliquée non seulement à disposer les principaux membres des etats et particulairment eux de la regence de l'Amsterdam à tout ce qui pouvoit etre de notre plus grand service comme il l'auroit obtenu avec le success qui est notoire, mais aussi à entretenir des correspondences dans toutes les cours et endroits de l'Europe pour acquerir des nouvelles de tout ce qui s'y passoit et nous en avertir, et à tous nos vice Rois et autres ministres; que l'on luy auroit aussi commis de notre part le soing de faire effectuer toutes les negociation qui de nos tems se sont faits en Holland, tantot pour des fabriques de navires, comme pour les provisions de tout le necessaires pour les Armemens de nos Armées navales et galers, en quoy il nous auroit epargné des sommes tres considerables. Pour ce est il que nous (les choses sudits considerés) et ayant aussi egard aux fidels service qu'André de Belmont son frere nous auroit de même rendu en la dites qualités d'Agent General en Hollande, et voulant à cette cause l'elever accroître et decorer de plus grande Honneurs droits prerogatives et preeminences avons i celluy Emanuel de Belmonte, de notre certaine science grace speciale plaine puissance, et autorité souveraine, fait et créé, faisons et creons **BARON** par ces presentes consentans et permetans qu'il puisse et pourra porter le dit titre de Baron de son nom de Belmonte pour par luy les hoirs et successeurs mâles et femelles descendants de luy en ligne directe, tenir d'ornenevant hereditablement et à toujours le dit Titre de Baron de nous, nos hoirs et successeurs: consentant et permettant assy par plus ample grace, qu'il puisse et pourra transporter le dit Titre de Baron sur telle terre et seigneurie qu'il acquerira soubi nos domaines aux Pays Bas, la quelle terre et seigneurie, erignons par ces presents, en dignité, nom, cry et preeminences de Baronnie avec ces appendences et dependances y appartenants au dit Emanuel de Belmonte, et au plus en jouir et posseder tous droits honneurs et dignités, autoritez, prerogatives et preeminences, y apartenans, tout ainsi et en la même formes de manieres que lets et semblables Barons ont accotumé de tenir..... non-obstant quel congues ordonances restrictions mandemens ou defences au contraires, pour vu que dans l'an apres la datte de cette icelles soient presentees à notre premier Roy d'Armes ou à celluy qui excercera son etat en nos dit Pays bas, en conformité et aux fins portes par le quinziesme article de l'ordonnance decretée par feu l'Archiduk Albert le quatorziem de Decembre 1606, touchant le port des armoieres timbres titres et autres marques d'honneur et de Noblesse, à peine de nullite de cette notre presente grace, ordonnant à notre Premier Roy d'armes ou à celui qui excercera son etat ensemble au Roy et Heraut d'Armes de la Province qu'il apartiendra de suivre en ce regard ce que contient le

reglement fait par ceux de notre conseil Prive le 2 Octobre 1637 au sujet de l'enregistrement de nos lettres Patentes.....en temoing de ce nous avons signe ces presentes et y fait mettre notre grand scel, donné en notre ville de Madrid Royaume de Castile le II^{me} jour de mois de Juin L'an de la grace 1693; et de nos Regnes le 28 et estoit signe

CHARLES
Par le Roy

Le Comte de Canillas
Baron de Molinet.

On Aug. 20, 1693, Manuel de Belmonte took the oath before D^o Francis Bernardo de Quiros, Spanish envoy extraordinary in the United Provinces of Pays-Bas, by authorization of his Electoral Highness the Duke of Bavaria as governor of the province. This oath is signed by De Quiros and countersigned by De Longas as secretary to his Majesty. Then follows the written consent of the "Tresorier general et commis des domaines et finances du Roy, Pierre van der Bouhdes Camora, fait a Bruxelles au conseil des dits finances . . . le 9^m Septembre 1693." Two additional documents are attached; to wit:

"Ces Lettres Patentes sont interinées selon leur forme et teneur par le President et gens de la Chambre des Comptes du Roy et de leur consentement enregistrees aux registres des Chartes y temaes cimençans au mois de fevrier 1689 fol 215 v^{to} et en suivant la 14 de Septembre 1693.

Nous Prezents
Van der Golh, de Monchaux, Van der Lepe

Je sous signè seigneur de Lodelin sort et de Chatillon, conseiller de S. M. C. faisant la charge de pressd. Roi d'Armes et d'Armes dites thoison d'or, au Pays Bas et Bourgogne: certifie et declare d'avoir aux livres et registres de ma dite noble charge, tenu notice et memoire de ces presentes lettres patentes, de Baronie de Belmonte et ce en conformite que S. M. mande etre fait au blanc d'i celles ainsi fait aux Chambres Heraldiques a la cour de Bruxelles le 18 de Septembre 1693.

Dⁿ Joss. (Signature illegible)

The period covered by these twenty-eight years was the time during which Spain continued her downward course and the star of France under Louis XIV commenced to ascend. The alliance of Holland with Spain was of the greatest benefit and the most urgent necessity for the latter. The fleet of Holland was especially needed to preserve some semblance of Spanish authority in the Mediterranean. A specific case even is mentioned in the patent. Messina had revolted and in 1675 had placed itself under the protection of France. The Dutch under De Ruyter came to the assistance of Messina; but unfortunately, in 1676, the famous Dutch captain was killed in a battle off the coast of Sicily. The

help thus given, ineffectually it is true, was due to the good understanding which De Belmonte was able to create between the powers.

In another direction also his services were successful. Not only was it necessary to preserve good relations with Holland because of the Low Countries, which were an appanage of the Spanish crown; but both Spanish and Dutch commerce needed to be on the best of terms with Great Britain. Louis XIV was perfectly aware of this and did all in his power to detach that country and win it to submit to his own plans. For many years he was able to do this and practically to hold Charles II of England in his pay as pensioner. But the sentiment of the English people was more true than that of its king and gradually forced him out of this position. In 1674 the first signs of the estrangement commenced to make themselves felt, which led up to the king's consent in 1678 that his niece Mary should marry William the Stadthouder, who was later to become king of England as well. By his good offices and by his remonstrances, Belmonte succeeded in impressing upon Holland the sense that its best interests lay in a close union with its great sister maritime power, and that only in this manner could the designs of the "*Roy très Chrétien*," i.e., of Louis XIV, be flouted.

Of all these plans and counter-plans, De Belmonte's vast correspondence shows every trace. In the state archives at Madrid, now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, there are no less than four hundred pages of manuscripts, numbered 899, 900 and 9403 (cc — 50) respectively, containing Belmonte's reports to the home government. These cover the period between the years 1666 and 1691, and are addressed to Don Juan d'Austria, Patiño, Oropesa and other Secretaries of State, partly written in Belmonte's own hand and partly in the hand of some secretary, though signed by him. The most complete portion is that covering the years 1666-1672; the least complete that for the years 1675 to 1679. His activity during the years 1673, 1674 and 1680 to 1686 are not at all represented in the collection.

The rest of Manuel de Belmonte's correspondence is to be found in the archives of Brabant at Brussels, under the heading "*Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre*," Boxes 2469, Nos. 17-21; 2470, Nos. 22-24; 2471, Nos. 25-27; 2472, Nos. 28-32; 2473, Nos. 33-35. They cover the period between the years 1663 and 1701, though very unevenly divided over the various years. But as De Belmonte was quite a voluminous writer, we must suppose that much of his correspondence has been lost,

a supposition enhanced by the fact that some of that which has been preserved is in a bad state and has evidently been injured by water. The following list exhibits the various dates:

1663 (June 1)	one letter	}	Addressed to Don Estevan de Gamara and Don Manuel de Lira, ambassadors at The Hague.
1667	two letters		
1671	three letters		
1675	two letters		
1679 (Sept. 20 - Dec. 28)		}	Numerous letters to Balthasar de Fuenmayor, Marquis de Moncalti.
1680			
1681			
1682 (Dec. 31)			
1683		}	Numerous letters to the Marquis de Castelmoncaya, together with notes of the latter to serve as the basis for answers.
1684			
1688	A few letters to Don Manuel Colonna.		
1692 (Mar. 14 to Aug. 18)	to the Marquis de Castelmoncaya.		
1693		}	Numerous letters to Don Francisco Bernardo de Quiros.
1694			
1696			
1697	Numerous letters to Don Francisco Bernardo de Quiros.		
1698	10 letters	}	to De Quiros.
1699	6 letters		
1700	2 letters		
1701	1 letter		

That such a position as he held was not at all times an easy one is plainly evident. Even after his first successes as chargé d'affaires, the States-General seem not to have been ready to accept him as Resident. In a meeting held on March 9, 1679, Leijden van Leeuwen acquainted the gathering with the fact that De Lira, the Spanish envoy extraordinary, had made the demand that Manuel de Belmonte, of Amsterdam, having received a commission as Spanish Resident in Holland from Hertsghe van Villa Hermosa, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, be recognized as such.¹ Curiously enough, it was resolved that the Genera-
liteit be asked to excuse Belmonte's admission, because there was a defect in the terms of the commission and because Belmonte was a resident of Amsterdam and not of The Hague. The defect in the commission

¹ *Resol.*, Mar. 9, 1679, p. 273.

seems to have been that it was made out by the governor of the Spanish Netherlands and not by the king of Spain himself, for the following rider was added to the resolution, that the aforesaid Belmonte or any other whom his Majesty would care to commission to the States-General, would be most gladly received if he only exhibit a commission signed by his Majesty in person. In the session of Apr. 25, the matter was again brought forward, this time by the Raedt-Pensionaris.¹ Don Manuel de Lira had protested that in many instances commissions from the governor of the Spanish Netherlands had been accepted in other countries as well as in Holland. Against this protest the States-General were unable to say anything. They advised the Generaliteit to admit Belmonte as Resident, but not to allow him any further privileges and immunities than those which he at present enjoyed, as long as he did not live in The Hague. On July 18, 1680, a further resolution was passed with a wider scope to the effect that no consul, Resident or minister of any power, who did not reside in The Hague, should possess the right to be absolved from the ordinary taxes and imposts.² In view of which "formal and solemn resolution," as the wording is, the Resident De Belmonte was to cease enjoying his exemption from taxes and imposts.³ From this it would seem that such privileges had been enjoyed by Belmonte, though perhaps without the express permission of the authorities.

The matter did not end here. On Aug. 15, 1685, it came once again before the assembly. A complaint had been made by De Belmonte and by Jeronimus Nuñez da Costa, Portuguese Resident in Amsterdam, that the exemption from the taxes had been withdrawn in their cases. It was resolved, as a special mark of the favor and consideration which they enjoyed in Amsterdam, that these taxes and impositions should be withdrawn.⁴ The resolution dated Aug. 16, 1685, in which this permission was granted, speaks in very flattering terms of De Belmonte and of the services which he had rendered to both the crown of Spain and the United Provinces.

Belmonte's activity was so well understood that most of the historians of the time speak of him in terms of eulogy. The anonymous

¹ "Soo langh hij alhier in den Hage niet komt resideren, geen meerder vrijheijdt of immunitijet sal geven; als hij alt' haus hebbende." *Resol.*, Apr. 25, 1679, p. 517.

² *Resol.*, July 18, 1680, p. 361.

³ "ende dat mitsdien de exemptie daer van den voornoemden Resident Belmonte byuten s' Graven-Hage woneemt sonde mogen jousieren, effectievelck ende met der daedt sal cesseren ende ophouden." *Ibid.*

⁴ *Resol.*, 1685, p. 392.

author of the *Recherches sur le Commerce*,¹ in mentioning his name, says: "Plusieurs de mes compatriotes savent, avec quelle satisfaction des deux Puissances le juif Baron de Belmonte a été employé en Hollande par la Cour de Madrid."¹

It was, however, especially by his own co-religionists that he was held in high esteem. He was one of the leading members of the congregation and several times was elected President (Parnass) of the governing body. The congregational records often mention his name. He was at the head of a society devoted to the cultivation of poetry, the academy called "Sitibundos," of which such men as Daniel Levi de Barrios, the poet, Duarte Lopez Rosa, the physician, Manuel de Leon, the poet of Leira, Diego (Abraham) Gomez de Silveyra, the satyrst, were co-members.² It is indeed said that he had founded the society in 1676, and that in 1685 he founded a second by the name "Academia de los Floridos." In fact, he was himself somewhat of a poet. At least he wrote one poem on the martyr Bernal, who at a tender age was burned at the stake of the Inquisition. For both these reasons a number of literary productions were dedicated to him.

In 1693 Isabella de Corrêa inscribed to him a translation of *Pastor fido*, an Italian pastoral by Battista Guarini.³ In 1689 David Pardo⁴ dedicated to him his *Compendio de Dinim que todo Israel deve saber y observar* (Amsterdam 12mo). Daniel Levi de Barrios inscribed his *Triumpbo del Gobierno Popular u de la Antigüedad Holandesa* in 1683 to "los muy ilustres Señores Parnasim, y Gabay del Kahal Kados Amstelodamo

Ishac Belmonte

Jacob Abendana de Brito

Jacob de Pinto

Ishac Levi Ximenes

Abraham Gutierrez

Mordechay Franco

Josseph Mocata"

and the same "Señor Ishac Belmonte" is among the persons to whom Menasse ben Israel dedicated the first edition of his important work *Mikweh Yisrael* ("The Hope of Israel"), Amsterdam, 5410 (= 1650). In 1704, the *Comedias escog. de differ. libros de los más cél. e ins. Poetas*

¹ Vol. II, Part 2, p. 135. See also Koenen, *Geschiednis der Joden*, p. 184; *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XXXII, 188; Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, 2d. ed., pp. 287, 431, 524.

² Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 319; De los Rios, *Historia Social . . . de los Judíos de España y Portugal*, p. 585.

³ Koenen, *Geschiednis*, p. 294.

⁴ Pardo was precentor of the Portuguese synagogue in London. See the *Catalogue of the library of Da Costa*, p. 87, No. 2306. *Ibid.*, No. 2738.

was dedicated to "Baron M. de Belmonte" (Brussels, M. T. Tartas); but as a similar collection entitled *Comedias nuevas de los más célebres autores* (Amsterdam, 1726) has the dedication to "Don M. Ximenes Baron de Belmonte," the ascription to our Manuel is a little doubtful. He must have been appealed to in various matters by his brethren. Of one such appeal we have direct evidence. The Jews had emigrated in large numbers to the Dutch possessions in the West Indies and upon the northern coast of South America. It was in Surinam, especially, that they held large estates which they cultivated with much success. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, they had certain difficulties with the Governor Heer van Scherpenhuizen, about which much may be read in the printed reports of the various committees that had these matters in charge. During the year 1689 they had found it necessary to appeal to Baron de Belmont, though matters dragged on until the year 1696 when Van Scherpenhuizen was suspended by Paulus van der Veer.

In view of the large amount of Belmonte's correspondence, it is especially surprising that we know so little about his private life. But we must not forget that all this correspondence was official in character and that we do not possess one single letter that bears an intimate character. In those pre-telegraph and pre-newspaper days, the official representatives of a power were supposed to keep their superior officers closely informed concerning the minutest details that might be of interest either in a political or a commercial way. We find him not only giving information upon weighty matters of general concern (in connection with the Spanish fleet he was called upon in 1695 to make payments amounting to 329,831 florins), but also sending bits of news concerning a Dutch ship that has set out for Buenos Aires, or forwarding a description of the island of Jamaica. It is to be supposed that he was a man of some means. His consulship could not have been very lucrative. From a letter of his predecessor in office, one Jacques Richard, dated Jan. 30, 1654, we see that the salary of this latter was 150 florins a month. Before his elevation to the baronetcy, he signs his communications "Manuel de Belmonte"; afterwards it is invariably "El Baron de Belmonte," evidently in much pride at his elevated station.

We are, therefore, quite grateful that a likeness of him and two views of his town house at least have come down to us. His picture was engraved in 1698.¹ Of the views of his house one had the title,

¹ A copy of this was shown me in 1897. It is, however, not available.

"t Hof van den Baron Belmonte, nieuwelijks geprent door P. Persoy," the other,¹ "Les Maisons ou Cours de Baron de Belmonte et des MM. Acosta et de Pinto."² He died on Shebat 24, 5465 (= 1705), and was buried at Ouderkerk cemetery near Amsterdam. A beautiful marble slab still marks the place of his grave. It contains, besides the inscription, some exquisitely cut figures and the arms of the deceased baronet. It has been photographed by the late Mr. Henriquez de Castro.³ It is not known for certain whether or not he was ever married. He is named in a list of unmarried people of the year 1673.⁴ It was the custom to place man and wife in graves near one to the other. No female Belmonte is buried in the neighborhood of Manuel; and one might suppose that he never married. On the other hand, in the year 1679 he is mentioned as having received a Synagogue honor,⁵ which, I am assured, is never known to have been given in the Amsterdam synagogue to an unmarried man. In the record of marriages of the congregation,⁶ there is mention of the marriage, in 1678, of Isaac, son of Jacob Belmonte, with Rachel, the daughter of Jacob Ergas Henriques. It is impossible to tell whether this has reference to our Manuel Belmont, as the name of his father is unknown. If he was married, it is quite possible that the Baron de Belmont who signed the petition of the Jamaica Jews in 1700 was his son.

What relation he was to François de Schonenberg is also uncertain. The latter speaks of him in a letter to Vernon, Nov. 30, 1701, in connection with the grant of £1000 by the king simply as "M. Belmonte";⁷ and again he says: "Comme M. de Belmonte a pour moy une amitié toute particulière." King Louis in writing to the Marquis D'Harcourt speaks of him simply as the uncle of Mr. Schonenberg, which, one would believe, means only that he was an older relative!⁸ He himself mentions De Schonenberg in several of his letters. Under date of Oct. 19, 1680, he says that he encloses to Balthasar de Fuenmajor "Copia de Papel de Mr^e Condestable de Casoiba escrito al Enviado Ex^{rio} Dⁿ

¹ Konen, *ibid.*, p. 207. A copy of this is in the possession of Mr. August Belmont.

² "3 ff eaux fortes (p. R. de Hooghe ?) av. adr. de P. Persoy. 4° obl. Extrêmement rare," *Catalogue of the library of Da Costa*, p. 117, No. 2826. It is probable that the two illustrations are identical; the second title is misleading.

³ For his *Keur van Grafsteinen*.

⁴ Synagogue records.

⁵ Hatan Torah.

⁶ The so-called "Ketubothboek."

⁷ Record Office, State Papers, Foreign. Span. 75, 1692-1705.

⁸ "Son oncle sert le roi d'Espagne en qualité de son résident à Amsterdam," Hippeau, II, p. 414.

fran. de Schonenbergh en M^d (= Madrid) al 5 de Sept. 1680." Likewise under date Jan. 30, 1682, he forwards "Copia de Papel del condestable de Castilla escrito al Embiado Fco. Schonenberg en 29 de deziembre 1681." But not a word is breathed as to any relationship existing between them or any acquaintance other than a purely official one. Under date Mar. 13, 1695, he also inserts "Copia de papel del Embiado Ex^{mo} de Schonenbergh."

CHAPTER VIII

THE FAMILY OF JACOB BELMONTE IN AMSTERDAM



THE THIRD BRANCH OF THE BELMONTE family has an interesting history of its own. That history, however, is almost exclusively connected with the Synagogue. It records no such diplomats as Andrée, Manuel, Francisco de Belmonte and François de Schonenberg. It has not the glamor encircling it of a steady and long continued strife with the Inquisition. It has no Marano pedigrees to shed the quaint lustre of court life and the association with thrones and palaces upon its pages. But in its smaller sphere it was not less important.

It contributed a goodly share to the upbuilding of the great Amsterdam Jewish community, and for fully two hundred years members of its various branches took the lead in all religious and educational work.

This third branch takes us back to the island of Madeira, then, as now, a possession of the crown of Portugal. Whether Jacob Belmonte was born there or not we cannot tell. There is, of course, every likelihood that either he or his father came thither from Portugal. There is even the possibility of his having some connection with the Don Iago y Sampayo who in 1519 took the name Belmonte. Jacob was born in 1570. He might well be a grandson of Don Iago, and if such a supposition is admissible, we might go still further and suggest that he was a son of Andrée Belmonte, who in 1554 married Cathalina Moniz and who took the name Belmonte purely and simply. As we have seen, that whole Portuguese family was purely Marano. The desire to return to Judaism may have induced Andrée or his son to emigrate to Madeira in the hope that the spiritual and worldly arm of the Church would not reach over the sea. Evidently he was mistaken. He had to leave the island of Madeira; for what reason we are left to conjecture. He

reached Amsterdam on Oct. 23, 1607, accompanied by his wife and children.

Evidently Jacob thought that the history of his family was of some interest, so that it was worth his while to preserve it for future generations. He did not write that history; but he collected the bare facts that might make up such a history, were we in a position to fill in his framework, in a *Livro das Gerasoims*, beginning with the year 1599, which was treasured in his family for generations. It then seems to have passed into the hands of other members of the family, as it contains entries signed by David Belmonte, Aharon Querido, Abraham Fonseca, etc. A copy of this work, together with a genealogical chart, was made by some late descendant with the title, *Copia do Livro das Gerasoims Prinsipiado y o Señor Jabacob Belmonte desde o Anno 1599*, to which was prefixed a "Registro do modo que Estad Replados os Nomes do Luiro." The manuscript is the property of the Montezinos Library in Amsterdam, and a transcript will be found in Appendix IX.

Jacob says expressly that he came to Amsterdam "a o Servizio de Dios de Israel," for the purpose of serving God in his own way. Of a truly religious mind, he regarded himself as one of the patriarchs of Old Testament times, especially as the one after whom he had been named and to whom the command had come, "Return unto the land of thy fathers and to thy kindred, and I shall be with thee." Before leaving the island of Madeira he commenced his *Livro das Gerasoims*, with a few words of thanks to the Almighty for the grace shown to him hitherto and with a prayer for the continuance of this grace during his future course of life. He notes, especially, that he wrote this before leaving, "As Verdadeyras Palauras asimeo escreuy na Illa da Madeyra em hum Papel no mesmo dia de 12 de Outubro 1599 e por estar Rotto o passy a quy em Amsterdam 23 de Outubro 1607: el dio me Asista f^a poder me recerlhe as prosperidades, o presente e o por vir," etc. It will be seen that it took him eight years to reach Amsterdam. Where he was or what he did during that time, we do not know. His own account is silent; but we must remember that travelling was not easy in those days, nor was it so simple a matter to make a change of residence. It is possible that he returned to Portugal for some time and shipped to Amsterdam from one of her ports.

As stated above, there had been Jews in Amsterdam, but unofficially, throughout the latter quarter of the sixteenth century. Official

indulgence of their presence did not come before the year 1604. Jacob Belmonte arrived at the very moment when the little congregation was shaping itself into a definite organization. He seems to have been as energetic as he was pious. Together with Jacob Tirado and Don Samuel Palaché, the ambassador in Holland of the Sultan of Morocco, he was in 1579 one of the founders of the Portuguese Synagogue, sixteen of them having met privately in Palaché's house in 1596.¹ Belmonte was its first presiding officer. In addition, on Jan. 13, 1614, in conjunction with Rehuel Jessurun (Paul da Pina) and Joseph Israel Pereyra, he drew up the articles of incorporation for the newly acquired burial-ground, and in 1615 he was one of those who composed the by-laws of the charitable organization "Bikkur Holim." He is frequently mentioned in the early records of the organization, of which he seems to have been the stay and prop.

He was more than this. During the seventeenth century, literature, both prose and poetry, was especially cultivated in Amsterdam. It is, of course, for others to judge the kind and the quality of this literature. I can imagine that it was not of a very high order. It represented a popular movement, in which the ordinary man had his place as well as the man of letters *ex professio*. The Jews took a part in this revival of learning and of literature which was quite commensurate with their standing in the community. Poetical and literary societies, called "Academies," were founded in large numbers, literary representations in the form of dramas without stage-setting (a sort of literary oratorio) were held and the composition of poetry as a fine art was cultivated. This was done with no detriment to the maintenance of the Hebrew language and the study of the traditional sciences. Side by side with the institutions founded for the cultivation of the Dutch and Portuguese languages, were to be found those for the perpetuation of Jewish lore. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that our Jacob Israel Belmonte, though presumably leading a commercial life, was also a writer and a poet.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find, either in print or in manuscript, any of Belmonte's writings. We have merely the eulogistic notices of his contemporaries, especially of Miguel de Barrios, who is our chief authority for the history of the inner life of the Amsterdam community during this whole period. He tells us that Jacob Belmonte

¹ See De Barrios, *Gov. Pop. Jud.*, pp. 61, 62. I find in the records of the congregation that in 1597 Jacob Belmonte made an offering in the synagogue (Misheberakh) in honor of Don Samuel Palaché.

wrote a poetic account of the horrors of the Inquisition, consisting of more than one hundred ottave rimes, as well as a poetic rendering of the Book of Job. His words are: ¹

"Contra la Inquisicion Jacob Belmonte un Canto tira
del Castalio Monte y comico la Historia de Job Canta."

And he cites from the first work the following verses:

"Que morra vivo quem con liberdade
dixe, que he hum so o Senhor Bendito?
e que he eterna a Ley immaculada
a meus hirmaos por Deos en Sinai data."

which have been rendered into German: "Warum durchschneidet man den Lebensfaden desjenigen, der frei bekennt, dass der gelobte Gott einzig, und dass das reine Gesetz, von Ihm meinen Brüdern auf Sinai gegeben, ewig ist." ²

Upon another occasion, De Barrios wrote the following verses in praise of Jacob Belmonte, which are found in one of his printed works and are cited in the manuscript history of Franco-Mendes: ³

"La Illa de Madera fu estu oriente
O Jacob Israel! ô gran Belmonte!
Simha tu esposa en Batara Horizonte
Con cerimonia de Mosaica gente
Dies personas congregas diligente,
en la oracion, quod assombro d'Acheronte
la macion de Palache halla su monte
Morico, y ara à tu fervor ardiente
La Comedia de Job, sonoro hazes,
y ocho prisiones tienes en tu esposa
En ocho hijos, que en la Ley rehazes;
El Gobierno Politico introduces,
en Amsterdam, de Hebraea Nao ansiosa
Sus almas velas y de D^s sus Luzes."

Which translated would mean:

"The Island of Madeira was and is thy Orient,
O, Jacob Israel! O, Great Belmonte!
Simha thy wife in Batara Horizon
With the ceremonial of Mosaic people
Ten persons thou dost diligently assemble,
In prayer, to the astonishment of Acheronte

¹ See *Revue des Études Juives*, XVIII, 282.

² De Barrios, *Triumpbo*, p. 76; De Castro, p. 54.

³ P. 16 of the Ms. in the archives of the Portuguese community; to be found also in De Barrios' published work, *Triumpbo*, p. 61.

The mansion of Palache finds its mountain
 Morico,¹ and as an altar to your ardent fervor
 Job's Comedy, thou dost render sonorous,
 And in thy wife thou hast eight prisons
 In eight sons, which according to Law thou dost make anew;
 Political Government thou dost introduce,
 In Amsterdam, of the Hebrew Nation anxiously
 O'er its souls and o'er God's own Lights thou dost watch."

Jacob died on Kislev 19, 5390 (= 1629), at the age of sixty and was buried in the cemetery at Ouderkerk (Row No. 9). He had married, probably in Portugal, Gimar (= Guimar) Vaz. The first child of the marriage was born on the day the couple arrived in Amsterdam. Gimar's name in the Synagogue was Simha (= Joy), and the family Vaz was well-known both in Amsterdam and Hamburg, where we find it in various forms: Vaz, Vaz de Oliveira, Vaz-Nuñes, Vaz-Faro, Vaz (Vas) de Miranda.² A portrait of Simha was sketched by her son Moses in the year 1642. The only copy I have been able to find of it is the one inserted in the manuscript history of David Franco-Mendes, and which it has been found impossible to reproduce. The subscription, largely in verse, is as follows:

"Effigie dei illustre Senora d^o Simcha Belmonte, moeher do eminente S^r Iacob Belmonte de boa mem

אשה יראת ה' היא תהלה³

A virtude excellento que Súpéra
 Os mais sublime doês da naturéza
 A humilade pacífica cincera
 A prudência que o humano exalta epiéza
 Se illustra em teu ualor egraca houroza
 Sabia prudente huimilda e virtuozza"⁴
 (Mosseh Belmonte sen filho comp. 5402)

Which translated means:

Image of the illustrious lady Simcha Belmonte, wife of the eminent Jacob Belmonte of blessed memory.

The excellent virtue which surmounts
 The most sublime of Nature's gifts
 The peaceful and sincere humbleness

The discretion which exalts man
 Becomes famous in your valor and grace,
 Wise, prudent, humble and virtuous.

¹ Mount Moriah?

² See Da Costa, *loc. cit.*, p. 514; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, 172, 219; De Castro, *Keur*, p. 22; *Revue des Études Juives*, II, 102; Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 126.

³ "A woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised." Prov. xxxi, 30.

⁴ On Jacob Belmonte see further Kayserling, *Bibl. Jud. Espan. Port.*, pp. 7, 29; *idem*, *Sephardim*, pp. 291, 359; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, ix, 515.

She also was buried in the cemetery at Ouderkerk. The tombstone of Jacob is still to be seen there. It bears the following inscription:

מצבת קבורת הישיש הנכבד הנביר מר יעקב בלמונטי וצל אשר התהלך את האלודים
בתשעה עשר לחדש כסליו משנת השיצ הנצבה

Sa de varao honorado pacifico Jacob Belmonte
O Koal fi con el dio em 19 de Kislef do anno de
5390 sua alma este em gloria" ¹

The Hebrew inscription, of which the Spanish is a free translation, may be rendered: "Monument over the grave of the aged, honored and mighty Rabbi Jacob Belmonte — may the memory of the righteous remain a blessing — who walked with God (i.e., died) on the 19th of the month Kislev in the year 5390. May his soul be bound up with those who enjoy eternal life!" In his honor the learned Saul Levy Mor-teira, who had been the tutor of his two sons, founded a Jewish Academy (Yeshibah), which pursued certain traditional studies in the house of the departed during the whole year of mourning.

Jacob and Simha had issue ten children, four females and six males. The list is as follows:

1. Sarah, b. Oct. 23, 1607; d. Oct. 26, 1607.
2. Sarah, b. Sept. 12, 1608; d. Ellul 23, 1632.
3. Raguel (Rachel), b. Feb. 10, 1610; d. 1681.
4. David, b. Apr. 29, 1612; circumcised May 7.
5. Ribca (Rebecca), b. Nov. 23, 1613; d. Feb. 23, 1614.
6. Joseph, b. Dec. 3, 1614; circum. Dec. 11.
7. Benjamin, b. Jan. 20, 1616; circum. Jan. 27.
8. Moses, b. Sept. 28, 1619.
9. Solomon, b. Jan. 29, 1621.
10. Samuel, b. Jan. 1, 1623; circum. Jan. 8.

In his *Livro das Gerasoims* Jacob the father has entered the dates of the birth of all his children and the circumcision of the male ones. The pious wording of these entries is a quaint and delighting sign of a godly spirit, so different from entries which are made in family bibles in the formal style of the business-office or counting-house. He gives not only the date of birth, but also the exact hour of the day. It may not be without interest to cite one of these entries, e.g., the one relating to his son Solomon:

¹ See De Castro, *Keur*, p. 55.

"5381-1621

"Em 29 de Janeyro da erra que se conta de 1621 q saõ de verdadeyra de Criasaõ do mundo 5381 huma sesta feira pelamaña as 6 oras medeo el Dio hum fillo o qual circum-sidey em caza y seu dia muyto frio em 5 de Febreyro pus lhe nome Selomoh foy madinha a S^{ra} Minha Mayin Dona Sara Belmonte sirconsidon o O S^r Issaque Fareques o altisimo Dio de Israel mo fassa seo temente sabio em sua Ley, observante (verar q sige) nella, abensoado em tudo fa com seos Irmaõs delatarem o Culto de D^s sobre toda a terra e podestarem y mandado seo sobre todos nossos enemigos em seus dias e nossos vejamos obem de A.: e ayerusalaim Redeficada e a David Reynante nella fa sempre de sempre Amen. A circunsidad foy em 5 de Febr^o a feyra de Roshodes Sebat," etc.

which, done into English, reads:

"On the 29th of January of the era in which we count 1621, which corresponds to the year 5381 of the creation of the world, on the sixth day of the week at six of the clock, God did give to me a son, who was circumcised in the house on the eighth day, to wit the 5th of February, and was given the name Solomon. His god-mother was my mother Dona Sarah Belmonte. He was circumcised by Senor Isaac Farques. May the almighty God of Israel make him God-fearing and wise in His law, observing its tenets, and like his brothers keeping the cult of God, whose might is over all the earth, and whose power over our enemies may we witness in His days and in ours, Amen!, as well as Jerusalem rebuilt and David reigning there for ever and ever, Amen! The circumcision took place on the 5th day of February, which is the 6th day of the week and the 14th day of the month Shebat."

Little is known about these many children. The first daughter, Sarah, died after three days. The second daughter received the same name as the first and married Abraham Querido, who survived her until 1640. Her sister Rachel also married a Querido, Aaron, brother of Abraham, the two being the sons of Juão a Luiz de Castro and his wife Isabel Vaz. The genealogical tree calls Aaron "sobrinho" (cousin) of Jacob Belmonte. It seems that this relationship was established through the mother, whose family-name was the same as that of Jacob's wife. Abraham Querido had three children:

1. Jacob Querido, b. Jan. 19, 1630.
2. David Haim Querido, b. May 19, 1632. He seems to have moved to Hamburg. At least the following statement appears in a later portion of the manuscript: "En 4 de tamus do anno 5427 em 26: Junio em Alchad naseo em Ambeurgo a o ditto David Haim Q. huma filla a queim por por nome Sarah." A daughter, Sarah, was born to him in Hamburg on June 26, 1667.
3. Aaron Querido, b. Mar. 6, 1639, named after his uncle.

Abraham died in 1640 (28 Tebet). Of his sons, Jacob Querido had issue:

1. Abraham Querido, b. 1654 (Shebat 21).
2. Isaac Querido. The date of his birth is not given,¹ but he seems to have lived in Lisbon.
3. Aaron Querido, b. 1660 (Tebet 2).²

David Haïm Querido had two children, the daughter mentioned above and a son Abraham.

The third son of the original Abraham Querido, Aaron, also moved to Hamburg, as his brother had done, taking a road which so many Amsterdam and other Jews took, among whom were Belmontes. Aaron, who died in 1681 (Tammuz 18), had issue; but nothing definite can be found out about them. In the cemetery at Altona, where the Jews of Hamburg were buried, however, there are stones marking the last resting-place of several Queridos.³ The family record says simply:

"E de Aron Querido não sey dar Rezad y que moreu em Hamburgo como seos Irmaões e sobrinõs y maior parte e por não sabor os nomes de suas mulleres como tam-bem o q de ditto forao prosedendo me obligon pelos a qui e não no Amore pois seria fazer huma couza Imperfeita."

"And I am not able to give an account of Aaron Querido, who died in Hamburg as well as his brothers and greater part of his nephews, because I do not know the names of their wives or of their descendants. I am compelled to make mention of them here and not in the Amore, inasmuch as in the latter it would have been imperfect."

The third daughter of Jacob Belmonte (b. 1610, d. 1681), as remarked above, married a brother of her sister's husband, Aaron Querido, known also as Diego Dias Querido. There was issue of this marriage, one daughter and two sons:

1. Simha Querido, b. Sept. 11, 1645, d. 1704 (Veadar 20).
2. Abraham Querido, b. Apr. 1, 1647, d. 1676 (Tishri 23).
3. Moses Querido, b. Nov. 12, 1648, d. ?

The eldest daughter, Simha, married in 1668 into a family which has had much renown in Sephardic communities, and offshoots of which are to be found wherever such Sephardim went, the Da Fonsecas. In an earlier part of this work mention has been made of Maria da Fonseca, who was married to Dr. Jeronimo Nuñez Ramires. She was the daughter of Dr. Lopo da Fonseca, body-physician to Queen Catherine of Portugal. A sister, Genebra da Fonseca, was burnt by the

¹ In another part of the manuscript the date is given as the 11th of Heshvan.

² Elsewhere the date is given as 1666; but this is not probable.

³ Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

Inquisition.¹ This Abraham da Fonseca, the husband of Simha, was born in 1638 (Tammuz 12) and died in 1711 (Nisan 7),² seven years after his wife.³ He has himself, on Mar. 26, 1704, entered her demise in the family record. Of their union there issued eleven children:

1. Isaac da Fonseca, b. 1669 (Tammuz 10).
2. Angela da Fonseca, b. 1670 (Kislev 18).
3. Raguel (Rachel) da Fonseca, b. 1672 (Nisan 24); d. 1688 (Adar 23).
4. Debora da Fonseca, b. 1673 (Heshwan 18).
5. Aaron da Fonseca, b. 1675 (Iyyar 13).
6. Daniel da Fonseca, b. 1677 (Shebat 7).
7. Esther da Fonseca, b. 1679 (Shebat 9); d. 1688 (We-adar 3).
8. Sarah da Fonseca, b. 1681 (Tishri 7).
9. Jacob da Fonseca, b. 1683 (Heshwan 28).
10. Hannah da Fonseca, b. 1684 (Nisan 24).
11. Solomon da Fonseca, b. 1686 (Ellul 15).

Of these children, Rachel, Esther, Hannah and Solomon are said to have remained unmarried. No further notice is taken of Jacob; it may be assumed that he, also, died without issue. The eldest daughter, Angela, married Isaac, son of Aaron Pereyra, introducing this widely ramified family into the Belmonte group.⁴ They had one son, Aaron (b. 1700, Shebat 29), who adopted the double family-name Pereyra-Belmonte.⁵ Other brothers married also into the Pereyra family and adopted a similar nomenclature. Angela's sister, Debora, became the wife of Joseph, son of Aaron Pereyra, evidently a brother of her sister's husband. Her children were:

1. Aaron Pereyra, b. June 8, 1708.
2. Sarah Pereyra, b. April 29, 1710.
3. Simha Pereyra, b. June 8, 1712.

These children do not seem to have followed the practice of their cousins, but to have contented themselves with the simple family-name Pereyra.

The fifth child of Abraham, Aaron da Fonseca, married Judica, the

¹ See Da Costa, *loc. cit.*, p. 523; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*. Index Volume, p. 155.

² His genealogy is given in one place as "son of Isaac, grandson of Daniel da Fonseca."

³ Her death, Mar. 26, 1704, is entered formally into the family book of her husband (see Appendix).

⁴ See, e.g., Da Costa, *loc. cit.*, p. 487; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 277; Gaster, *Bevis Marks*, p. 29; Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵ In a Ms. in the Montezinos Library he is mentioned as a member of the Girls' Orphan Asylum in 5494 (1733) as "Aharon de Ishak Pereyra Belmonte." In the same volume I find the names of Solomon, son of Jacob B., d. 5504 (1743) and his wife Rachel. I cannot place them.

daughter of Solomon Abarbanel Zousa.¹ Two other of Abraham da Fonseca's children married into the Franco-Mendes family, into which descendants of the older branch of the Belmontes had also entered. Daniel da Fonseca became the husband of Ester, daughter of David Franco-Mendes. Their children were:

1. Abraham da Fonseca, b. Nov. 11, 1714.
2. Simha da Fonseca, b. Feb. 8, 1716.
3. Rachel da Fonseca, b. Apr. 13, 1717.
4. David da Fonseca, b. July 1, 1718.
5. Aaron da Fonseca, b. Feb. 23, 1720.²

Sara da Fonseca became the wife of Ester's brother, Abraham da Fonseca. They had two children:

1. David Franco-Mendes, b. Aug. 12, 1713.
2. Raguel (Rachel) Franco-Mendes, b. Aug. 13, 1715.

Finally, the eldest son of Abraham da Fonseca, Isaac, married Raguel (Rachel) de Laparra and had issue:

1. Abraham da Fonseca, b. 1707.
2. Simha da Fonseca, b. 1709.

We have thus followed, as far as is desirable, the descendants of the eldest child of Rachel Belmonte. It is only necessary to add that, of her two other children, Moses Querido (b. 1649) died unmarried, while Abraham Querido was united to another member of the Da Fonseca family, Deborah, a daughter of Isaac and presumably another sister of Abraham, who is also said to have been a son of Isaac. Our authority says expressly that he died without issue.

Returning to the fourth child of Jacob Belmonte, David,³ we have to record that he married Ester Rachoa and had issue:

1. Sarah Belmonte, b. Apr. 16, 1634; d. 1636.
2. Jacob Belmonte, b. Nov. 11, 1635; d. 1675.

All that we know of David is that in a religious play (I have called such a dramatic oratorio) enacted in the Synagogue at Amsterdam called "Bet Yaäkob," on the Feast of Tabernacles, 1624, he had a part. The full title of this play was: *יכוח שבנה הררים Dialogo dos montes, Auto*

¹ Or Souza, members of which family in Hamburg also intermarried with the Abravanel. Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

² These are added in a note, but are not numbered: Simha F. M., b. June, 1717, and Isaque F. M., b. Apr. 7, 1719.

³ In another place he is called "Daniel."

que se representon con a major Aspectação e solemnidade, na Synagoga Amstelodama de Beth Jabacob, na festa celebre de Sebuoth, anno 5384. Anéxo vão discursos academicos e predicaveis que prégarao os montes (p. S. L. Morteyra), Amst., 1767 ("Dialogue of the mountains; a play presented with much grandeur and solemnity in the Amsterdam Synagogue Beth Yahacob at the time when the feast of Shabuot was celebrated in the year 5384; to which are attached seven academic and religious discourses held by the mountains. Composed by S. L. Morteyra").

The seven mountains and their representatives were as follows:

Sinai — Abraham da Fonseca
 Zion — Isaac Cohen Lobatto
 Hor — Joseph Cohen Faro
 Nebo — Gideon Abudiente
 Gerizim — David da Fonseca
 Carmel — Dr. David de Haro
 Shittim — David Belmonte ¹

These mountains are portrayed as contesting the place of honor. The author was the learned rabbi, Saul Levy Morteira, under whom David Belmonte had been educated.

The second child of David, Jacob Belmonte II (1635-1675), married Gracia Ergas ² and had issue:

1. David Belmonte.
2. Sarah Belmonte, b. 1668 (Shebat 27); d. 1693.
3. Esther Belmonte.

All of these died without marrying.

Ribca (Rebecca), the fifth child of Jacob Belmonte I, was born Nov. 23, 1613 and died Feb. 23, 1614. Joseph, b. 1614, d. 1673, married Sara Vaz de Oliveyra. Their children were:

1. Jacob Belmonte III, b. 1655 (Shebat 12).
2. Simha Belmonte, b. 1656 (Nisan 2).
3. David Belmonte, b. 1657; d. Jan. 31, 1717.

Of these children David was unmarried; Simha married Abraham Escapa and David married Raguel (Rachel) Gaon. Both left no issue.

¹ In other authorities he is said to have represented the mountain Zetim. At all events, he did not write "Zetim," as Graetz (*loc. cit.*, X, 4) has it.

² On this family see De Castro, *Keur*, p. 29; Jost, *Annalen*, 1840, p. 155 (Israel Ergas goes from Amsterdam to India in 1686); Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 109.

Benjamin, the seventh child of Jacob Belmonte I, b. 1616, d. 1676, married Abigail Penso¹ Feles (d. 1691). De Barrios says that he was the first child in the new community to be circumcised, even this being done in private in order not to arouse opposition. The first public ceremony of this kind was that connected with Aaron Sarfati, the later Haham or spiritual head.² But De Barrios, and De Castro following his lead, must be mistaken. According to the family record, the elder sons of Jacob I were also circumcised.

Our knowledge of the eighth son of Jacob Belmonte I, Moses (b. 1619), is decidedly meagre. He never married, but devoted his whole time to the service of religion and to actions of grace. He is greatly praised by De Barrios for his personal qualities, and when he died in 1647 (Iyyar 23, 5407), the following lines were engraven upon his tombstone, which can still be seen in the Ouderkerk Cemetery:

הפקד אתי אצור נחמד לו
 כתר שם טוב על ראשו
 הני על נמדו לא נמר
 וכאור בקר העריב שמשו
 אל מצחו לא ינרע עינו
 בין כוכבים ישים קנו

(S^a D^o) Honrado Mosseh Belmonte faleseo em 23 de ijar an^o 5407

O Institutor e irmao
 Da Santa Hebra
 De Gemilut Hasadim"

The quaint Hebrew inscription, which is in rhyme, may be rendered in this wise: "He has stored up with ME a delectable treasure; the crown of a good name was upon his head; while he yet stood upright and while the moon was in its dawn, his sun did set; but the light of his eye still brightens his brow; for high among the stars has he taken his stand." Moses Belmonte was only twenty-six years old when he died. The short Spanish eulogy refers to his having founded in 1639 the brotherhood "Gemillut Hasadim," a charitable body consisting of forty-two members who gave of their time and service out of love for

¹ There was a Jewish poet, Jos. Penso de la Vega, in Leghorn, Amsterdam and Hamburg. On the name (Pinço ?), see Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

² "El Haham Aharon Sarfati el primicerio circuncidado de acho días públicamente." See also De Castro, *De Synagogue*, p. iv, note 17.

humanity. In 1644 this brotherhood adopted a constitution and declared itself independent of supervision on the part of the congregational authorities. When Moses Belmonte died in 1647, the officials of the community (Parnassim) in a high-handed manner took to themselves the right of appointing the head of that society (in this case the Haham Samuel Aboab), which arbitrary act caused the remaining members to secede and found a new brotherhood, the "Abi Yetomim," or "Father of the Orphans."

Moses was also of a literary turn of mind. We have already seen that he composed the eulogy on his mother that was engraven beneath her portrait. If Franco-Mendes is not mistaken, he was also the engraver. Of his literary productions I am able to mention the following: 1. *Argumenta contra os Noserim*, i.e., "Arguments against the Christians," a theological tract directed against the Christian idea of inherited sin. Up to recent times, only two lines of the tract were known, the two cited by De Barrios in his *Triumpho*.¹

The whole of it, however, has been found by Henriquez de Castro on the frontispiece of the Spanish manuscript No. 35 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.² It follows here:

ARGUMENTOS CONTRA OS NOSERIM EM FORMA DE VERSO.

Si es de las Cauzas, Cauza y primero. el Dio Omnipotente y Verdadero:
 Autor de quanto ay de Polo a Polo. diuino ser Independente y solo:
 No ja de Otra de Ydad a companhado. pues es Un ser Esistente y separado:
 Dueño de la Justicia recta y pura. cierta verdad de perfeccion segura:
 Quien ay que aplique a Dios omnipotente. pluralidad si es uno simplemente:
 Quien ay que diga a Dios que nace y muere. sy es imposible que jamas se altere:
 Sy Dueño llaman a Dios de la Justicia. padecer Dios por otro es Injusticia:
 Es repugnancia que si a Dios pecamos. mantado al proprio Dios y a nos Salvamos:
 Mas antes en tal cazo (?) preguntara. a quien tal opinion me consultara:
 Si porque Adam a Dios desobedese. fuese menester que el Hijo de Dios muriese:
 Por un pecado tan ynorme y fuerte. qual dizen fue matar a Dios Verdadero:
 Quien podremos dezir que Vendra al mundo. a remediar un pecado sin Segundo:
 Si muere Dios por el primer pecado. quien querra en el Segundo Ser culpado:
 Si Vino a perdonar el que Adam hizo. el Castigo duro no se deshizo:
 Si dizen que Verdadero Ungido. Masiagh que por Dios fue prometido:
 Como se considera ynperfectos. En su Vanidad Varios los Effetos.
 Donde esta aquella Paz del Universo. como nos testefica el Sagrado Verso:

¹ *Relat. de la Poet*, p. 56.

² *Revue des Études Juives*, XVIII, p. 284. This must also be the same as that contained in the first three pages of Saul Levy Morteira's *Repuesta a las objeciones*, etc., a Ms. in Da Costa's collection. See the *Catalogue*, No. 2325.

El mundo con diursas opiniones Todo es Babel, todo es Confusiones
 Como ya no se ven señales tantos que predixeron los prophetas Santos
 Si vino a remediar Una malicia. fue en Dios mizericordia o fue justicia:
 Justicia no es porque es dar premio al Justo. castigo al pecador injusto:
Adam peco y Dios fue al agraviado. Como puede Ser Dios el Castigado:
 Ay Justicia que mande a un ynosenste. pagar lo que merece el delincuente:
 Ergo no fue Yusticia en Dios Bendito. que un delito metige otro delito:
 Mizericordia no se considera: pues la definicion mas Verdadera:
 Es escuzar al pecador la pena. accion que Solo el Dios piadozo ordena:
 Mas si dura aun de Adam el Castigo que mas prueba hadehaber que mas testigo:
 Dexara Dios de Castigar el mundo. fuera un favor Supremo Sin Segundo.
 Que pueda murir Dios es Imposible. que no pueda morir es Infalible:
 Que es uno Solo yncorporio es cierto. que es uno y tres es coza yncierta
 que la Ley de Moseh es eterna y pura. Lo prueba la razon y la Escritura
 Que no es la que Antes era. La palavra de Dios jamas se altera:
 Que es eterno Dios y ynfinito: Verdadera opinion que acreditase:
 Pero que este Dios de muger nasse. quien ay que tal opinion acreditate
 Sy el que jusgan por Dios Cristianos tantos: mando guardar Los Mandamentos Santos:
 Como porfanan el Sabat y adoran ymagen de Palo que laboran.

2. In conjunction with Joseph Franco-Serrano he translated into Spanish the old Jewish post-biblical collection of ethical saws and anecdotes known as the *Sayings of the Fathers* (Pirke Abot), under the title, *Perakym. Los quales se dizen los seis Sebatbot que ay entre Pessab y Sebuoth cada Sabath uno* ("Chapters which are recited on the six Sabbaths between Passover and Pentecost, one on each Sabbath"), Amsterdam, 1644.

It is not quite clear what part Moses Belmonte had in this latter publication. The *Perakym* have the separate title given above; but to this is added: "Imp. por horden de Rehuel Cohen Lobato y Mosseh Belmonte" (Printed at the order of R. C. Lobato and M. Belmonte), which points rather to his having, together with Lobato, only seen the work through the press and having been responsible for its production. It was printed, though with its own separate title-page, together with the following.

3. A translation into Spanish of the Song of Songs. Here again it is impossible to tell just how much of the translation is due to Moses Belmonte. It bears the title: *Paraphrasis Caldaica en los Cantares de Selomob con el Texto. Traduzida en lengua Española. Industria y despeza de Rabuel Cohen Lobato y Mosseb Belmonte. Dirig. al docto y sapient. Varão o Señor Habam . . . R. Saul Levi Morteira*, Amsterdam, Ymanuel Benveniste, 5404 (= 1644), 55 pp. In the preface the following passage

occurs: "Este traducion fue impressa primero in Venecia en caracteres hebraicos" (This translation was, in the first instance, printed at Venice in Hebrew characters). It is possible that the Amsterdam edition represents no new translation, but merely the transference of an older Spanish translation from Hebrew characters to Latin ones.¹ The Song of Songs was much in vogue at that time, in both Jewish and Christian circles, because of the subtle meaning attached so often to its pastoral pictures and to the mystic lore which was read between its lines. It is, therefore, no wonder that we find this *Paraphrasis Caldaica* to have been reprinted many times, e.g., Amsterdam, 1683, 1701, 1712, 1724, 1766; Venice, 1721, 1739, 1805; Livorno, 1769, 1787; Vienna, 1820. There may, even, have been more editions than those, as the edition of 1766 ("corregido por R. Ishac de Eliaou Acohen Belifante," Amsterdam, Janson and Mondovig) is said to have been copied from an edition of 1704 (Amsterdam, Coutinho — "con el texto Hebr. Ladino"), of which the bibliographers seem to know nothing.

Of the further literary labors of Moses Belmonte little need be said. Out of gratitude to his teacher, Saul Levy Morteira, he edited, in conjunction with Benjamin Diaz Pato, that rabbi's sermons; and he edited, or perhaps only signed, the 1645 edition of the work *Gib'at Sha'ul*.²

Solomon, the ninth child of Jacob Belmonte (1621-1664), married Raguel (Rachel), daughter of Isaac da Fonseca. Solomon must have gone from Amsterdam to Hamburg. His son Isaac was born there, and in that city he himself died. He had two sons:

1. Jacob Belmonte IV, b. 1664 (Shebat 9).
2. Isaac Belmonte, b. Jan. 30, 1665.

Jacob Belmonte IV married twice, the first time Angela Machora, the second, Sarah Abendana. He had issue:

1. Angela Belmonte.
2. Raguel (Rachel) Belmonte, d. 1681 (?).

Angela married Isaac Abendana, probably a relative of her mother. Other Abendana-Belmontes are to be found in the older branch.

¹ On the various translations, see my article "Bible Translations" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 196.

² See Steinschneider, *Catalogus . . . Bodleiana*, p. 1778; *idem*, *Jewish Literature*, p. 213; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, I, 100; Kayserling, *Bibl. Jud. Espan. Port.*, p. 27.

Isaac Belmonte (b. 1665) married Hana, daughter of Daniel da Fonseca, and had issue:

1. Jacob Belmonte V.
2. Raguel Belmonte.
3. Abraham Belmonte.
4. Lea Belmonte.
5. Solomon Belmonte.

The youngest child of Jacob Belmonte I, Samuel (1623-1675), married Ribca (Rebecca) Atias (d. 1696) and had issue:

1. Simha Belmonte, b. Feb. 2, 1664.
2. Sarah Belmonte, b. 1666 (Adar 9).
3. Jacob Belmonte VI, b. 1668 (Nisan 19); d. 1743.
4. Michael Belmonte.

Simha married Abraham Rafael and seems to have emigrated to Jerusalem, where she died. Sara became the wife of David Abenatar, a Hazzan or precentor in the Synagogue. Both David and his father Immanuel (also a Hazzan) are mentioned in the lists of married and unmarried persons in the community during the year 1675. She, also, went to the Holy Land, where, like her sister, she ended her life. Jacob Belmonte VI married Abigail de Mattos (d. 1757) and had issue:

1. Ribca (Rebecca) Belmonte.
2. Samuel Belmonte.

Finally, Michael Belmonte remained unmarried.

CHAPTER IX

STRAY MEMBERS OF THE AMSTERDAM FAMILY IN HOLLAND, FRANCE, ENGLAND, ETC.



THE PRESENT RECORD WOULD BE QUITE incomplete did it not include a few other members of this widely scattered family who evidently belong to one or the other of its branches, but whose connection it is quite impossible to establish with the means at present available.

In the first place, mention must be made of one in Amsterdam itself, a Moses, son of Joseph Belmonte. In the various lists mentioned above and made up from the archives of the Amsterdam community, two Joseph Belmontes are mentioned. One died in 1673, the other in 1687. It is probable that the first of these two is the Joseph son of Jacob Belmonte I, since the wife of the second is said to have been named Lea, while the wife of Jacob's son was Sarah Vaz Oliveira. We come across this Moses in 1684, 1688, 1724 and 1726. In the first of these years he composed a small volume of Hebrew poems, the unique manuscript of which is in the Montezinos Library at Amsterdam. The 32mo volume is fully punctuated and bears the title:

ספר הר שפר אשר תקן וחבר הבחור משה בן הנביר ונחלה כבוד יוסף בילמונטי י"צ
פה באמשטרדם בשנת תמ"ד

i.e., The Book entitled Mountain of Godliness composed by Moses son of the honorable Moses Belmonte (may God preserve him forever!) in Amsterdam in the year 5444 (= 1684). In the second of these years (5448 = 1688) he composed the inscription for the gravestone of Moses, b. Gideon Abudiente. A copy of this inscription is to be found in the Montezinos Library. The third date is given us in a Jewish calendar published by him in the year 1724 and running until 1940. It bears

the title, *Calendario ebraico desde el año 5485 hasta el de 5700*, and was attached to the volume of daily prayers in a set of six covering the whole ecclesiastical year, *Seder ha-Tefillot keminbag k.k. ba-Sepbardim*, published by Samuel Rodriguez Mendez, 8vo.¹ And, finally, in 1726 he wrote a Hebrew panegyric which was prefixed to the edition of the Pentateuch and the corresponding Prophetical Lessons brought out by the same Mendez under the title, *Parashiot we-Haftarot Kol ba-Shanah; Quinque libri Mosis (cum Haftaroth) magno labore et industria accuratissime correcti prae omnibus qui bucusque thypis fuere mandati*, Amsterdam, 5486, 6 vols.²

In the Montezinos Library at Amsterdam, already mentioned several times, I have found a *Ketubbah* or marriage-agreement, drawn up between a Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Jacob Belmonte, and Simha, daughter of David de la Peña in Rotterdam.³ The date is Tammuz 4, 5483 (= 1723). I believe that this Jacob belonged to the line of the Ergas-Belmontes; the *Kethubbah* is signed by him (o torgo, "the bridegroom") in the form, "Jacob Belmonte Ergas." Jacob Belmonte II married an Ergas in 1675; but so far as our information goes, he had no son named Isaac. I am at a loss to fix the relationship of the one that signed the *Kethubbah*.

Amsterdam was at that time a great centre of various interests. Dutch trade carried Dutch men to all parts of the globe in the search for new avenues of commerce. Dutch ships carried Dutch settlers in quest of new lands to cultivate. The arrival of the Maranos and Jews in Holland coincided with the period of the great colonial expansion, when the little country around the Scheldt and the Amstel put out its feelers into so many corners of the less known outside world. It was the greater Holland that sustained the mother-country and provided homes for the surplus population before the time when the Dutch learned how to wrest land from the ocean by means of their famous dykes. After them came the Anglo-Saxon and reaped the fruits of Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese enterprise, carrying it to its proper fruition.

It was natural that the descendants of the Maranos should take part in this work. In most of the lands into which the Dutch went, these Maranos found settled men of their own race and their original persuasion. Not only in the large European centres of commerce, Hamburg,

¹ Kayserling, *Bibliotheca*, etc., p. 27; Da Costa, *Catalogue*, p. 79, No. 2208.

² An edition upon vellum was in Da Costa's library; see *Catalogue*, No. 2101.

³ Signature, "B. No. 5."

Antwerp and London in the north, Livorno (Leghorn), Venice and Constantinople in the south, but beyond the seas on either side, in the old India washed by the waters of the Pacific and the newer India on the borders of the Atlantic, they found relatives and friends. Vasco da Gama led the Portuguese sailors to the great countries of the Brahmans and the Buddhists — he had a Marano pilot to show him the way — and the Inquisition at Goa dealt with Jews as with defecting Catholics and Lutherans. Columbus sailed to the west, searching for a shorter route to the Indies, in vessels equipped by money supplied by such Maranos as Luis de Santangel and guided by an almanach written by the Jew Zacuto. It is a matter of creditable report that he not only had a Jewish doctor on board one of his caravels, but also some Jewish sailors, and that it was one of these who was the first to spy the faint traces of land. In addition, it is a matter of exact knowledge that both the Spanish and Portuguese thrones used the fair lands in the new world, which had come to them through the magnificent work of their hardy seamen, as settlements for their criminals and — their Maranos.

In such manner the earliest Jewish communities grew up in the West Indies and in Latin America. Descendants of these early forced colonists exist up to this day. I have myself called attention to an interesting stranded colony of Portuguese Jews in the far-off province of Amazonas in Brazil.¹ The records of the Inquisition in Peru, Lima and Mexico are a testimony, at one and the same time, to the power of the Roman Church there and to the astounding steadfastness of the Maranos.

In the Dutch settlements, both on the northern and the southern continents, no such harsh régime held good. The case of intolerant old Peter Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam — a forebear, in the spirit, of the late Paul Krüger — who forbade the first shipment of Jews to land in the island, was happily an extreme and an isolated case. From time to time colonies from the south came to lay the seed of future growth on the North American continent. Thus the Maranos and Jews that followed in the wake of the Dutch settlers, oftentimes settlers themselves, found their own people already upon the ground and were not the utter strangers they might otherwise have been. It was in this way that a large colony went to Surinam on the northern coast of South America, and in both Surinam and Paramaribo became colonists and farmers

¹ *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, VII, p. 62.

upon a large scale. A few years ago I was able to publish some old maps showing their holdings and cultivations in these colonies.¹

Looking through the various lists of the Surinam Jews, one at once recognizes the names with which one has become so familiar in connection with Jewish settlements in the old world. The community exists to this day, and during the nineteenth century counted among their number one important member of the Belmonte family, B. F. C. Colaço-Belmonte. We have already come across the branch Colaço-Belmonte in Amsterdam, in the person of the wife of Joseph Brandon-Belmonte.² In Van Sijperstein's *Beschrijving van Suriname*, he is mentioned as an officer in the militia during the year 1853.³ He was not only a lawyer, but also a writer on various subjects. I find a work by him cited with the following title, *Over de Hervooming van het Regeringsstelsel in Nederlandsch West-Indië*, Leiden, 1857; a second entitled, *Neerlands West Indie in zeine Belangen en Dr. W. R. v. Hoëvelt in zijn slaven en vrijen*, Leiden, 1855; and a third, *Werkzaamheden der Surinamsche Maatschappij van Welkbigheit*, Paramaribo, 1858.

The island of Jamaica⁴ is said to have been the first land sighted by Columbus. At an early time in its history it had a Marano and, afterwards, a Jewish population. Its fortunes varied as it passed from Spanish to Dutch and from Dutch to English hands. Strange it is to see that the traditions in regard to the treatment of the Jews which had been imported by the Latin settlers and authorities had persisted down into the time of the English rulers. One of the very first to travel extensively in the island was a Jew, Benjamin de Mesquita, a son of David Bueno de Mesquita, the Resident of the Elector of Brandenburg and general agent of the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who went there in 1661.⁵ Though he possessed letters of denization, they were of no use to him. Together with some other Jews from the island of Barbadoes, living at Jamaica, he was banished. The little band took up its residence in New York, where Mesquita died in 1683. Other Jews came to Jamaica from Holland in 1668; in 1671 Abraham Espinosa (of the family of the famous Benedict Spinoza), as also Jacob de Torres from London. They came

¹ Contributions to the History of the Jews in Surinam, *Publ. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, ix, pp. 129 *et seqq.*

² A Simha Hana Rahel Colaço da Fonseca in Hamburg is mentioned in Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 102. See De Castro, *Keur*, p. 39.

³ Also in *Eerste Rapport der Staats-comiser*, 'S Gravenhage, 1853, p. 90 — on the slave question.

⁴ See M. Kayserling in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XII, 708.

⁵ *Proceedings of the American Jewish Historical Society*, V. 49.

possessed of all the rights of English citizens; but they were traders and shopkeepers, and aroused the hatred of their rivals. In 1671 the English traders protested and petitioned to have the activity of the Jews confined to wholesale commerce. It is true, the governor was opposed to this growing animosity; but he was quite powerless. As the community grew apace with the arrival from Holland of more of their brethren, a rabbi was appointed and in 1683 was brought to this office from the island of Curaçoa.

The people of the island, it is quite evident, made up the hostile element. The extraordinary levies to which the Jews were subject were passed into law by the popular assembly, and the report of the governor to the home authorities dealing with the matter makes the ordinary charges which one has been accustomed to read in the Berlin *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the Paris *Libre Parole* or in the manifestos of a former Vienna Bürgermeister. The gravamen complained of by the Jews of Jamaica was, that though their "nation" in the island did not exceed in number "eighty persons including married men, batchelors, widows and the poor maintained on charity," they had been inordinately taxed. After the French had been repulsed in 1693, the Jews had to pay £750 out of the £4000 levied. After the earthquake, a calamity that had affected all elements in the population, they had been called upon for another £750; a short while afterwards for £1000; then £350 and so on. All these levies together represented a large sum for so small a community,¹ for they were in addition to the ordinary taxes which they had paid in the same measure as the other inhabitants of the island. In 1699 they were to be further taxed to the extent of £5250, and they had been called upon to nominate twelve assessors out of their own midst, whose duty it should be to procure the money so demanded. The Jews had an additional complaint. They had been forced to bear arms on the Sabbath day, which was contrary to their religious principles "unless in case of a necessity where an enemy is in sight or apprehension of being near."

It was a Baron De Belmont who became the spokesman of the Jews and who in the first instance presented the petition of the Jews to his Majesty the king of England. This petition was referred by the King's Privy Council in England to the governor of the island, Sir William Beeston, who in his own name and in that of the council made reply. The

¹ The documents speak of an overtaxing to the amount of £3450, which sum does not agree with the individual amounts, which make up something like £1537.

truth of the charges was admitted; but the attempt was made to find an excuse for the exceptional levies in the fact that the Jews were admitted into the island on condition that they should become tillers of the soil. Only a few had done so. Most of the Jews had taken to commerce and to small merchandizing, and because of their thrift and "parsimonious living" had gotten the whole retail trade into their hands and had undersold the English. They had also great stocks in trade and did a flourishing wholesale business. For all these reasons, in the opinion of the governor and council, they ought to pay a greater proportion of the taxes than the English. It was also alleged that they were better able than others to trade with the negroes, because they work at night and on Sundays. The charge that the Jews had been forced to bear arms on Saturdays is denied in very general terms.

The documents in question, copied from the originals in the Record Office in London, are as follows:

I.

Memorial of the Jews about their Taxes, presented to Sir William Beeston, Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica. (Entry Book, Jamaica 57, ff. 80-84. Date of Entry, July 24, 1700.)

"Your Excellency has been pleased to give us a copy of the petition that the Baron de Belmont did present to his Majesty in behalf of the Jewish nation inhabiting in this island, and at the same time your Excellency was pleased to demand of us the reasons, and what just cause we had to make our applications to obtain his Majesty's favour and protection. We have often made our applications humbly petitioning your excellency and the assemblies praying that we may not be particularized in any taxation by ourselves, but only as the rest of the inhabitants our neighbors were rated, but we have never been so happy with our petitions to take any effect, on the contrary your Excellency will please remember that by four successive assemblies we have been taxed as appears.

The first assembly that was after the general calamity of the earthquake was for 750 pounds.

The second tax was for one thousand pounds, both which are as appears by the printed acts of Jamaica (folio 8, 66) which makes one thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds over and above, besides paying equally with all the inhabitants of this island as more at large appears in the said acts.

The third assembly having understood that it was not well taken in England, that the Jews should be taxed two several ways as was expressed in the last assembly, over and above and besides for which reason we humbly presume that we were taxed at a lump, 1750 pounds and according to a true calculation made of ours, if paying as the rest of our neighbors at that time, which was upon houses, negroes, cattle and trade, did not amount to above 350 pounds, so that we were over taxed 1400 pounds.

The fourth assembly taxed us at a lump 437.10 pounds, which is at least $\frac{3}{4}$ over and above our just due if we had been so happy to be treated as the rest of the inhabit-

ants of this island, which is above 300 pounds extraordinary, so that summing up all the four taxes amounts to this poor nation (who not surpassing eighty persons including married men, batchelors, widows and the poor maintained upon charity) amounts to 3450 pounds over and above, and besides paying as the rest of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding always from the first design that these assemblies did commence with these taxations, we constantly made our humble application to your Excellency and the Assembly with our patents of denization and naturalization, by virtue of which we become as natural born subjects and hoped to enjoy the same freedom and privileges without any particularization whatever.

At the meeting of the first of the four last Assemblies they to two of the Jews with threats obliged them to nominate twelve persons of the Jews to be the assessors of the Jewish nation which out of fear they gave in their names without the knowledge, intent or desire of the Jewish nation.

In the fifth Assembly they intended to tax us 5250 pounds but being dissolved we were so happy that this tax took no effect, otherwise this would have concluded the utter ruin and destruction of all our poor nation.

And as to our being forced to bear arms on our Sabbath and holy days as in late years has been by command of some particular officers, without any necessity or urgent occasion (which is contrary to our religion unless in case of necessity where an enemy is in sight or apprehension of being near us) on which we have always been ready, all of which have been the motives and reason that we made our application to his Majesty, humbly praying relief and protection to our just grievances and that we may enjoy the privileges as by the favour of our Letters Patents and Denization doth allow us, which indeed was sufficient when any infringement was designing against us, except the last four acts.

Now looking upon your Excellency the only protector and recourse we have in this island under the happy government of his most excellent Majesty, we humbly pray your Excellency will please to represent our hard fate that we have laboured under, that for the future we may be so happy to find your Excellency's clemency towards who as in all duty are bound to pray, etc."

II.

The Governor and Council's answer to the Baron de Belmont.

(*Ibid.*, ff. 84 to 88.)

"Upon receipt from your Lordships of the copy of the Memorial presented to his Majesty in behalf of the Jews of this Island by the Baron de Belmont, I sent some of the chiefest of that nation and shewed them the said memorial and bid them put into writing the reasons they had to make such applications to his Majesty by the said Baron de Belmont, which they have done and I now transmit it to your Lordships.

What they say about being so taxed by the Assemblies they mention is truth, and had the act gone forward in the last Assembly for making Reparation to the Suffering in the late War, it would have amounted to such a sum that their part therein mentioned would not have been extravagant.

But to trace all from the original; their first introduction into this Island was upon condition that they should settle and plant, which they do not, there being but one considerable and two or three small settlements of the Jews in all the Island. But

their employment is generally keeping of shops and merchandize, by the first of which they have engrossed that employment and by their parsimonious living (which I do not charge as a fault in them) they have thereby means of underselling the English, that they cannot many of them follow that employment nor can they in reason put their children to the Jews to be trained up in that profession, by which the English nation suffer much both in their own advantages, and what may be made to their children hereafter.

And it is well known that in time past, the Jews made it their request that they might on any occasion be taxed by the lump, and the reason they gave and which was obvious to and prevalent on the English, was because they being a people distinct from the English knew one another's circumstances and abilities better than the English could, and therefore the more likely to do right to one another as well as to take off the jealousy of partiality, had they been particularly taxed in the parishes where they dwell as the English are, but of late they have desire otherwise because they fall out in their taxing one another. For these reasons the Assemblies have always when public money was to be raised thought it but reasonable that they, the Jews, who in the opinion of the Assembly eat out the English in trade and get it very much into their own hands, and thereby the profits and advantages that might be made by the retailing trade to the English nation, have thought it but just that they should pay something in proportion more than the English, and what they propose in those cases of money is not to be contradicted by the Governor and Council, lest thereby the whole bill may fall.

As for their bearing arms, it must be owned that when any public occasion has happened or an enemy appeared they have been ready and behaved themselves very well; but for their being called into arms on private times and that have happened upon their Sabbath or festivals, they have been generally excused by their officers unless by their obstinacy or ill language they have provoked them to the contrary, the law of this country without regard to the Jews or any other, giving power to the officers to call all men to arms when there is thought occasion for it.

It is likewise too plain that the meaner sort of that nation buy anything from our negroes by which they encourage them to steal, or any else that they may sell it to the Jews to make money to buy drink or play with one another. By which many evils happen both to the negroes and their owners, and altho' this has been endeavoured to be hindered, yet a way could never be found to prevent it, this trade being driven on most at night or Sundays when people are at church and hereby the ignorance of the negroes gives advantage to the Jews to buy anything of them for very small value and much under its real worth which the sooner sets them on to stealing more.

To which may also be added, that they are not at the trouble and charges of any civil and military offices (which are great here there being no pay allowance for them) except to a constable sometimes, where the poundage money for the taxes pay their expense of time. Nor are their taxes considering the great stocks they have in trade more in proportion than a poor planter's that is in debt and labours hard to clear himself, besides they are entered much into the wholesale trade and many English merchants consign their goods to the Jews here which is a great discouragement to the English factors.

This is the truth of the present state of the nation of the Jews here, where if any taxes be laid upon them, which they do not like, it's for the consideration aforesaid and by the Assemblies, who often resent it. Nor is it in the power of the governor and

council to contradict them in raising of money which they will do as they please or not at all, tho' never so great occasion or necessity for it.

By his Excellency's command,

THO. NICHOLLS, Clerk of the Council."

III.

Jews in Jamaica.

(*Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. 16, fol. 5. Cf. also ff. 14 and 24.)

"At Meeting of Board of Trade, March 3, 170 2/3.

Mr. Lereira laid before the Board a Petition presented to Her Majesty by Antonio Gomes Serra, Andrew Lopez and Moses de Medina in behalf of the Jews inhabiting in Jamaica. With the Signification of Her Majesty's Pleasure thereupon by Mr. Secretary Hedges, that the same be referred to the Consideration of the Board. And he further desiring a Copy of the Memorial presented by the Jews at Jamaica to the Governor and Council, there relating to their Taxes with the answer of said Governor and Council thereunto in the year 1800."¹

(Entered Jamaica B, folio 80, etc.)

What the outcome of the petition and its reference was we do not know. It seems probable that the Council refused to take any action in the matter. Dissatisfaction continued, and when Antonio Gomez Serra, Andrew Lopez and Moses de Medina made a complaint to the king, the Board of Trade of Jamaica was required to forward a copy of Baron De Belmont's memorial and of the reply to it. Our interest in the matter centres in the fact that the case of the Jews was in the hands of a Baron De Belmont. Who was he? His personal name is not given, nor any additional family-name that he may have borne. We are left dependent entirely upon conjecture. One's first thought is to connect him with the Amsterdam ² family whose ramifications have been studied in previous chapters. It must not be forgotten that most of the members of the Jewish community in Jamaica have come either directly or indirectly from Holland. As the matter referred to took place in the year 1700, it is quite within the range of possibility that this Baron De Belmont was a son of Baron Manuel de Belmonte, the Spanish Resident in the Dutch capital.³ It is also worth noting that at that date a member of the family, no longer living in Latin surroundings, had in a sense modernized the family-name by dropping the final "e."

There is, of course, another possibility, though I have no grounds for preferring it, viz., that this Baron De Belmont had come from England

¹ Must be a mistake; 1700?

² The greatest part of the members of the Jamaica community had come from that city.

³ This is also the opinion of M. Kayserling in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XII, 711, 712.

to Jamaica. We know that a branch of the Belmonte family had settled in London, where even to this day there are members of the Sephardic congregation of that name. The search in London is, however, rendered singularly difficult owing to the fact that it was the custom, then as now, for foreigners to make use of the greater security offered by English institutions and to keep their moneys as well as to register their wills there. Just as so many crowned heads to this day keep their valuables deposited in the Bank of England, so did the rich continental Maranos and Jews in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They, also, had their wills registered at the Registrar's Office. One of the wills so deposited was that of Mrs. Rachel Ximenes Belmonte, alias Rachel Levy Ximenes, alias Rachel Nunes Ximenes, widow of Samuel Nunes Henriques, living in The Hague. The will was executed there on Mar. 26, 1739, and was intended to cover the effects that she possessed "in England and Great Britain." It reads:

WILL of RACHEL XIMENES BELMONTE

otherwise RACHEL LEVY XIMENES

" RACHEL NUNES XIMENES.

ON THIS DAY the 26th of March 1739 Before me Johannes Sythoff Notary Publick admitted by the Court of Holland residing at the Hague and in the presence of the underwritten Witnesses appeared Mrs. Rachel Ximenes Belmonte otherwise Rachel Levy Ximenes otherwise Rachel Nunes Ximenes Widow of the late Mr. Samuel Nunes Henriques living here in the Hague unto me Notary known who said that having some effects in England and Great Britain she hath by these presents ordained and appointed for her Sole Executors and Administrators of all such effects as she may have at the time of her decease in the said Kingdom of England and Great Britain, Messrs. David de Pinto and Isaac Van Isaac Nunes Henriques, Giving unto them and the survivors of them full power and authority for immediately after her the Appears decease to cause all the said Effects none Excepted to be put in their Executors and Administrators names and accordingly to Manage Administer Sell Allienate and Charge the same to receive the moneys therefrom and to give Acquittances for the same the said Appearor desiring that after her decease Letters of Administration may be granted hereon in usual Form.

THUS done Passed Signed and Sealed in the Hague in the presence of the underwritten Witnesses the day month and year above written.

Rachel Ximenes Belmonte
otherwise Rachel Levy Ximenes

" Rachel Nunes Ximenes (L. S.)

Signed Sealed and delivered
in the presence of us

L. V. Alphen

P. V. Zanten

(L. S.)

J. Sythoff Notary Publick 17 $\frac{3}{26}$ 39

FAITHFULLY translated out of Low Dutch in London the 7th of October 1741.

THIS WILL was proved at London before the right Worshipfull John Bettesworth Doctor of Laws Master Keeper or Commissary of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury lawfully constituted the ninth day of October in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and forty one By the oaths of David de Pinto and Isaac Van Isaac Nunes Henriques the Executors in the said Will named as to the Goods Chattells and Creditts of the said deceased lying and being in the Kingdom of England and Great Britain to whom Administration was granted of all and singular the said Goods Chattells and Creditts of the said deceased but no further or otherwise being first Sworn by Commission duly to administer.

It is evident that the lady belonged to that branch of the original Belmonte family that had intermarried with the Ximenes (see Appendix XI). We can even go further. One of her aliases is Levy Ximenes, and we may therefore suppose that she was a daughter of the Isaac Levy-Ximenes who married Sarah Ximenes-Belmonte. But further than this it is impossible to go.

Of the English Belmontes there was one that merits a little attention and who, curiously enough, forms a certain link between Jamaica and the mother-country. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was in that island a Jewish litterateur and poet whom Kayserling describes as "undoubtedly one of the most remarkable products of the Jewish race" at that time, Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna. He composed a versified paraphrase of the Psalms in Spanish entitled, *Espejo fiel de vidas* (Faithful Mirror of Life), with the intention of making these products of the old Hebrew muse better known. He had worked at this version for fully twenty-three years. He had been unable to find the means with which to publish his work in Jamaica, and he came to London in the hope of meeting a Maecenas. He was successful. Mordecai Nuñez Almeyda paid the cost of the printing, and the volume appeared in London 5480 (= 1720) with the title, *Espejo fiel de vidas que contiene los Psalmos de David en verso*, accompanied by three engravings by Abraham Lopez de Oliveyra. As was the custom in those days, the Maecenas and his relatives prefixed extravagant praise of the volume in more or less poetic form. In this case, among the poetasters were: Almeyda himself, his mother Manuela Nuñez de Almeyda, Dona Sarah da Fonseca Pina y Pimentel, the latter's husband Manuel Fonseca Pina, their son Moseh Fonseca Pina and Almeyda's sister, Dona Bienvenida Cohen Belmonte. Her contribution is as follows (I quote it from the rare volume in the Montezinos Library at Amsterdam):

*Di Dona Bienbenida Cohen Belmonte hermana del
Mezenas, al Autor.*

Tu Espejo Fiel de las Vidas
De Vida es Espejo Fiel,
En que tu docto Daniel
Con la Vida nos conbidas,
En cansiones repetidas,
Le das a Ysrael consuelo,
Pues le osrese tu desvelo,
Con zelo santo, y profundo,
Vida Fiel en este Mundo,
Y Eterna Vida en el Cielo.¹

Who this Belmonte was whom Bienvenida Cohen Almeyda married, I do not know.

At quite another part of the habitable world we come across a member of the Nuñez-Belmonte line, about which some data have been given above. At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries there lived in Smyrna in Asia Minor one Isaac Nuñez-Belmonte, bearing the same name as his illustrious relative, the Spanish Resident at Amsterdam, and evidently of his immediate family. Though we know that Isaac's father's name was Moses, we are unable to see further, as the descent of the Nuñez-Belmontes is not given. We have already seen two members of the family marrying and going to live in Jerusalem. This is in no way surprising. It was the dearest wish of thousands of pious souls that the satisfaction might be theirs of dying in Jerusalem, and every year quite a number of them wended their weary way to the Holy City in order that their bones should whiten in consecrated ground. Many fell out on the road; many never reached the goal of their longings. Sometimes dead, sometimes alive, they remained by the wayside and enlarged either the cemeteries or the communities through which they passed.

Bent upon some such mission as this, Moses Nuñez-Belmonte must have reached Smyrna and have settled there.² His son, Isaac, grew up learned in all the wisdom of the rabbinical schools and became one of the most prominent of the Oriental schoolmen, those who gave judgment within the community and without according to the law of Moses

¹ See Kayserling, *Bibl. Espan. Port. Jud.*, p. 55; *Sephardim*, p. 297; *Jüdische Frauen*, p. 174; and *Jev. Quart. Rev.*, XII, 715. Koenen, *loc cit.*, p. 297, says that Samuel Nassy in Surinam was eulogized by her; I have found no further reference to the fact.

² It is interesting to note that on 4 Iyar 1659, a certain De Campos of Hamburg went to England, in order to journey to Smyrna; Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

and in consonance with its traditional exposition. Some of his casuistic works on Jewish lore have come down to us in printed form, e.g., his commentary upon the first and second parts of the oral law as codified by the great philosopher and legist Maimonides in his *Misbnef Torab*. To this work Belmonte gave the cryptic title *Sba'ar ba-Melek* (The King's Gate). It was first published at Salonica in 1771 (2 vols.), then at Brünn (1801-1803) and a third time at Lemberg (1859), where it was provided with notes by Joseph Saul Nathanson. That such a work should pass through three editions within the space of less than a hundred years is a proof of the rank it had attained in Jewish scholasticism. The approbations that were attached to it by Hayyim Abulafia and Jacob Albali are not mere Oriental hyperboles; that is best seen from the fact that it was accepted as authoritative in the schools of Germany and Poland. An oration delivered by Belmonte and entitled *Derek ba-Sba'ar* (The Gateway) is contained in Raphael (Isaac) Maggio's *Darke ba-Yam* (Pathways through the Sea), printed at Salonica in 1813.¹

The question has been mooted, and may be referred to here in a few words, whether the Schomberg family in England has any connection with the Belmontes. There seem to be two distinct families of this name who are in no way connected with one another. The Duke of Schomberg, from whom so many English officers have sprung, was born at Heidelberg in December, 1615, and was the son of Hans Meinhard von Schönberg (1582-1616), who took his name from the castle of Schönberg on the left bank of the Rhine above Oberwesel, the ruins of which can still be seen. The other branch is distinctly Jewish and has its origin in Meyer Löw Schomberg, M.D. (1690-1761), the eldest son of a Jewish practitioner of medicine, who was born at Feltzburg in Germany. I am informed, upon the very best authority, that the original family-name was not Schomberg, but Sambourg.

¹ See Azulai, *Shem ba-Gedolim*, II, 68b (Vienna, 1864); Steinschneider, *Catalogue . . . Bodleiana*, Nos. 5404, 6800; Roest, *Catalogue . . . Rosenthal Bibliothek*, I, 909; Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, I, 100; Zedner, *Catalogue of Hebrew Books in British Museum*, pp. 515, 617; Benjacob, *Ozar ba-Sefarim*, p. 600, No. 1014.

CHAPTER X

THE BELMONTES IN HAMBURG



IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH century the free city of Hamburg commenced its gradual rise to the position of eminence it has achieved to-day. There can be but little doubt that this rise was due in a measure to the adventitious arrival of the Maranos, who not only brought with them their own riches, but opened up connections with other centres, for which Hamburg has always remained pre-eminent. The exact date at which these Maranos first made their home in the city is not definitely known. Some give it as 1577, others as 1583. It is, however, useless to try to fix that date with absolute certainty as the first to come may well have hesitated to throw off the masks they wore. Being either distrustful of their new surroundings or still afraid of their old ones, they may have chosen to remain, openly at least, Catholics. That this is not a mere supposition is proven by an entry in the city records for the year 1611. We read: "Etliche vornehme portugiesische Kauflleute haben sich anhero aus Portugal cum familia begeben. Erst nach geraumer Zeit hat (der Rath) erfahren, dass sie der jüdischen Superstition zugethan." Nothing can be clearer than this statement. In addition, there is evidence that up to the year 1611 the Portuguese Jews were buried in the Catholic cemetery and that up to the year 1609 they permitted their children to be baptized.

These Portuguese or Sephardic Jews came to the city from various places. Some arrived directly from their Portuguese homes. We have seen that some landed in 1611. On Apr. 10, 1648, a ship arrived from Portugal with two young men and a number of women. The new arrivals naturally kept up a certain connection with their former home and in this way advanced the commerce of both countries. They still held

property in their former place of residence, which presumably was cared for by their Marano relatives who had remained behind. Thus the Hamburg *Gemeindebuch*, under date of 1659, contains a copy of the will of a certain Violante Correa, daughter of Manoel and Guimar Mendes, part of whose property is recorded as being in Portugal. For this reason some of the small band must have returned from time to time to Portugal and have looked after their affairs there. But as they were forced, for that purpose, to reassume the Catholic mask, everything was done to prevent their going. Violante Correa says expressly that her nephew shall inherit her, after the decease of the other relations, "on condition that he return not to Portugal," and the communal leaders laid down the rule (17 Tebet, 1658) "that anyone who journeys to Spain and Portugal as a Jew and comes back shall for a period of two years not be called up to the Reading of the Law (in the Synagogue) and shall be shown no honors (Mitzwot) there." The prohibition shows that such communication was not uncommon. It is also a sign that these Jews still remained attached to their hard-hearted mother-country, as so many of the Russo-Jewish emigrants do to theirs. It is recorded that when the great earthquake occurred in Lisbon on Nov. 1, 1755, the Jewish community in Hamburg commemorated the event by a day of fasting and a service in the Synagogue.¹

But the Maranos came to Hamburg not only from the Pyrenean Peninsula. The trading facilities of the city drew them thither from other quarters as well, from Flanders and Holland—especially from Antwerp and Dunkirk—and from Livorno (Leghorn) in Italy, even from Turkey and Morocco, the political agent of the latter country being a Jew. In a similar manner they came to the newly founded city of Glückstadt. This was also a seaport; and Christian IV of Denmark, desirous of raising it to a position fit to compete with Hamburg, issued an edict, dated Nov. 25, 1622, and forwarded to various Portuguese communities, offering them shelter and protection. This edict was published in Hamburg, Emden, in Holland, France, Portugal, Spain, etc. and must have contributed to bring more Maranos to these northern waters.

It was held at one time that the Hamburg-Portuguese community had been recruited exclusively from Amsterdam. Worded in so definite

¹ See *Horden de rogativa y peticion . . . en lengua Espanola per El H. H. R. Jabacob de Abramam Bassan*, Hamburg, 1756.

a fashion, the statement cannot be altogether true. But in a general way it seems to express what did actually occur. A comparison of the family-names known to have been used by the members of this community in Hamburg, Altona and Glückstadt affords an almost certain proof of the close connection that must have existed between the Jews of the Hanse towns and those of Holland. It was also in the nature of things that two such important centres of commerce as Amsterdam and Hamburg should have dealings with one another. There is no necessity to look for reasons or to imagine unpleasant experiences on the part of the Jews in Holland which might have persuaded them to emigrate. The persuasion was inherent in the circumstances of trade, which are often more forcible as moving factors with a people constrained to trade for a livelihood than downright persecutions would be. The presence, then, of Dutch, and especially of Amsterdam Jews, in Hamburg ought to be looked upon as no curiosity and as necessitating no explanation. All circumstances pointed to their natural presence there. The fact that they were strangers does not seem to have made much difference in the equitable treatment accorded them. When the imperial government in Vienna desired in 1648 the extradition of Abraham Texeira, the Hamburg senate wrote under da teof October (?), that he had settled in the city "offen als Hispanischer Jude und Kaufmann . . . Gleich anderen aus Portugal und Hispanien bey uns in ziemlicher Anzahl lengst angelangten und recipirten Kauffleuten jüdischer Religion." . . . They add: "Wenn wir uns auf Inquisitionsprozesse einlassen wollten, würden so baldt alle undter Unserm Schutz in nicht geringer Anzahl wohnende Kauffleute, Hispanisch, und Portugisischer Nation, welche doch ansehnliche Handtierung und Kaufmannsgewerbe in diese Stadt geführt, und noch ühben, insonderheit aber auch die höchstnöttige Schiffarth gutentheils erhalten und befürden, aus Furcht der Nachfolge, von hinnen sich erheben, ihnen werden andere fremde Nationen nachfolgen."

It was thus natural that, in studying the fortunes of an important Jewish family in Amsterdam, Hamburg should be taken within the purview. During the early days of the settlement there, it was the Portuguese or Sephardic members that formed the majority and also the importance of the community. In a short time, however, these became hard pressed by the non-Sephardic element, especially the German, which soon commenced to settle there, drawn by the advantages which the city offered for the purpose of commerce. Two circumstances very soon

tended to prevent the further growth of the Sephardim and eventually to bring ruin about their heads. They did then, as they do now, refuse to intermarry with non-Sephardic (so-called Ashkenazic) Jews. They considered themselves to be, in a measure, of blue blood. Even to this day an alliance with a "Tedesco" (German) is looked upon as a partial *mésalliance*. The Sephardim were thus forced to marry within their own ranks, a custom which, as is well known, is not conducive to the numerical advancement of the human species. Then they were unable to fill up their depleted ranks with newcomers. Nowhere were the Sephardim increasing in large numbers; and the opening up of new regions of the inhabitable world, notably on the western continent, drew thither a stream that might otherwise have been of value to the older settlements. The Jewries in various parts of the world — in London, Paris, Amsterdam, New York — would quickly have lost their importance had they been confined entirely to the descendants of the Sephardim. It was the introduction of Ashkenazim from Germany and Eastern Europe that revived their waning fortunes, at times even compelling the Sephardim to break down the wall of exclusion which they had built up between themselves and their brethren.

To-day, the Sephardic body in Hamburg is very far removed from its high estate of former times. Its small synagogue is poorly attended, and the important families that at one time were its pride have either died out or moved away. At the time the present investigation was made (1902-1903), very little interest had been developed in its past history and no one had searched through its records. Since that time, two publications have brought to light some of the more important features of its history, to wit: Feilchenfeld's lecture, *Anfang der Hamburg Portugiesen Gemeinde* (1898), and Grunwald's *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde* (Hamburg, 1902). The community at one time had archives as carefully preserved as are those at Amsterdam, but the great fire of 1842 destroyed the largest part of them. All that remains is one huge manuscript tome called the *Gemeindebuch* for the years 5412-5417 (1652-1657). It is written in Portuguese, and when I saw it, it was in the custody of Mr. Isaac Cassuto, who at a later time seems to have made a translation of its contents into German. In addition there exist:

1. A list of commemorative days of departed females covering the years 5456-5544 (1695-1784), in the possession of J. H. Wagner, Berlin.

2. A "Livro de Nacimientos" (Book of Births) in the possession of Dr. Luria, Hamburg.

3. "Protokollbücher der Portugiesengemeinde in Altona."

4. "Rolla," a list of the Portuguese, their origin, occupations and dwellings from the year 1612 on, in the public archives of the city.

It is, however, in the ancient burying-place of the Portuguese Jews of Hamburg that the best information is to be gotten, as we found to be the case in Amsterdam. For even the burying of these Maranos and of their descendants was connected with difficulties. Strange to say, during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Hamburg senate refused to allow the Jews to bury their dead within the city limits, despite the words of that selfsame senate sent to Vienna in connection with the Teixeira matter: "Die Juden wohnten hier still und eingezogen." The authorities were egged on by the tradespeople of the town, who feared the "Concurrence" of the newcomers.¹ The Jews were not permitted to acquire property of any kind, either for the living or for the dead. Whatever property the Jews did possess, they had to hold in secret. Thus we find that some real estate which in 1617 was in Jewish hands was entered in the "Grundbuch" in the name of a Christian citizen. The example of an exception is sufficient to prove the rule. We read:

"Doctori Rodrigo de Castro auss sonderbahren erheblichen Ursachen, wegen dero in dieser Stadt und der Gemeine lange viele Jahre hero geleisteten getreuen Dienste und Aufwartungen, sein Hauss, so er vorlängst auf der Wallstrassen hieselbst erkaufet, und gebauet, nach Inhalt der darüber in dieser Stadt denckel Buch gezeichneten Articul zu haben vergönnet und verstattet werden."

This must have occurred in the year 1627. But De Castro was body-physician to Queen Christina of Sweden, and, in addition, the city had need of his medical experience and advice. That this last reason was the more important of the two, may be judged from the fact that Manuel Teixeira, who was official Resident of that same queen, was unable to obtain a like privilege in the year 1670 in respect of his house on the Neuenwall. He protested in the clumsy German-Latin "Kanzlei"-style of the day that he

"mit befremden vernehme, dass da E(uer) Hochw(ohlgeborenen) Rath A^o 1665 und 1666 so woll Ihre May(estät) der Königen Christina Alexandra, als dero zu Schweden regierenden Königl(ichen) May(estät) meiner allergnädigsten Königinnen undt König mit vielen sincerationen versichert, mich gleich andern Ministris publicis zu halten und

¹ Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

zu schützen, derselbe nunmehr solches alles beyseit setzet, undt zwar dieses Hauss, welches ein Schwedischer Minister vorhin bewohnet hat, nur in gleichem Charactere nicht will bewohnen lassen, ungeacht is solches sub hasta publica undt als gerichtlich gekauft," etc.

It was for this reason that the Jews of Hamburg had to look elsewhere for ground in which to bury their dead. And for this they did not have to go far — to Altona, where under the king of Denmark they got the privilege denied them in the free city. In 1611¹ a piece of ground was purchased, upon what is now the Königstrasse, from Ernest Count of Schauenburg. In 1641 a document was signed attesting that this piece of ground belonged to the Hamburg community. In the year 1654 the piece of ground was enlarged, and those bodies that had been buried in the provisional (?) cemetery allotted to the Portuguese on the Kohlhöfen in Hamburg ("Bet Haym de dentro") were ordered to be removed. It was only in cases of extreme urgency that temporary burial had been permitted in that city, as during the troublous war-times in 1682. "On Wednesday Elul 15 there died a child of Gerson Israel, named Esther. On Friday she was provisionally buried, with the permission of the senate and the authorities, by the wall near to the smith, until the corpse can be taken to the cemetery in Altona or to some other place which is now being looked for in the city until the time that God grants us peace and quiet," says the official Portuguese record. The cemetery in Altona was in use down to the year 1869, when it was formally closed, though special permits for burial there were still obtainable down to the year 1877.

This graveyard is still full of interest, though a part of it was condemned in 1863 by the fiscal authorities in order to widen the street in which it is situated. Quite a number of Belmontes are found buried here, and the search for their gravestones was facilitated by a list drawn up in the year 1874 by Mr. H. Ricardo Rocamora and Mr. S. J. Sealtiel, entitled, "Verzeichnis von den Gräbern auf dem in Altona in der Königstrasse liegenden Bet Hayyim der Portugiesischen Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona bis Anno 5634 oder 1874." This list, comprising 1806 graves in 39 different rows, was in the possession of Mr. Rocamora, the aged beadle of the Portuguese synagogue in Hamburg, since my visit to him deceased. It has been supplemented by a list of those buried through the agency of the Society "Hebra Gemilut Hasadim" (Society

¹ The first gravestones in Altona are dated 1611, thus antedating those in Amsterdam Ouderkerk, where the earliest dates are 1616. Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

of Benevolence), which has the heading, "Memoria dias Misvot que Se enterravaõ em Betahaim Depois de Instituida a S^{ta} Irmandade de Guemilut Hassadim," and covers the years 1675-1760.

The following is a list of the Belmontes buried in the Altona cemetery:

1. (No. 684) Esther Belmonte. Nisan 14, 5426 (1665).
2. (No. 160) Solomon Hisquiyau (= Hezekiah) Belmonte. 5434 (1673)
and his wife
Rahel Belmonte. 5473 (1712).
3. (No. ?) Jacob Belmonte. Tishri 20, 5437 (1676).
4. (No. 1) Angela, wife of Jacob Belmonte. Adar 26, 5455 (1694).
5. (No. ?) Sarah, wife of Jacob, son of Solomon Belmonte. Tebet 28, 5490 (1729).
6. (No. ?) Rabbi Selomo Cohen Belmonte. Tishri 13, 5492 (1731).
7. (No. 656) Lea, daughter of Izhak (= Isaac) Belmonte. 5494 (1733).
8. (No. 866) Jacob Belmonte. Adar Sheni 2, 5499 (1738).
9. (No. 734) Izhak (= Isaac) Belmonte. Kislev 2, 5499 (1738).
10. (No. 739) Hannah, wife of Izhak Belmonte. Ab 22, 5509 (1748).
11. (No. 4673) Jehudith (Judith) Cahanet¹ Belmonte. Tammuz 5, 5523 (1762).
12. (No. 1411) Rahel (= Rachel) Belmonte. Tammuz 29, 5528 (1767).
13. (No. 2) Abraham Haïm Belmonte. Iyyar 12, 5534 (1773).
14. (No. 3) Rebecca, wife of Abraham Haïm Belmonte. Kislev 5, 5544 (1783).
15. (No. 1352) Jacob Haïm Abendana Belmonte. Adar Rishon 8, 5546 (1785).
16. (No. 454) Samuel Belmonte. Nisan 26, 5550 (1789).²
17. (No. ?) Jacob Belmonte. Tammuz 16, 5556 (1795).
18. (No. 1353) Deborah, wife of Jacob Haïm Abendana Belmonte. Adar Sheni, 5568 (1807).³
19. (No. 844) Solomon Abendana Belmonte. Nisan 1, 5582 (1821).
20. (No. 671) Izhak, son of Solomon Abendana Belmonte, b. 1795; d. Shebet 28, 5592 (1831).
21. (No. 42) Hannah Abendana Belmonte, wife of ? Pardo; b. Mar. 30, 1760; d. Oct. 22, 1828.
22. (No. ?) Esther Belmonte, wife of ? Brandon; b. Apr. 22, 1789; d. Dec. 25, 1849.
23. (No. 1704) David, son of Solomon Abendana Belmonte; b. June 15, 1808; d. August, 1864.
24. (No. 1798) Martin Belmonte; b. 1861; d. 1862.
25. (No. 732) Jacob, son of Isaac Belmonte. Date unknown.

In addition to these, the following persons may be mentioned:

26. I(saac) Abendana Belmonte, who, together with his whole family, migrated to Amsterdam between the years 1767 and 1775 on account of difficulties that had broken out between himself and the communal authorities. He is probably buried in the latter place.

¹ A feminine form of Cohen? See an Abigail Cahanet d'Azevedo, Gracia Cahanet Lobato, etc., in Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 102.

² According to a list kept in the Hamburg Kommerzbibliothek, he was a privileged "Makler" on the exchange in 1754 and 1762.

³ Grunwald (p. 98) gives "Abigail" as surname and 5567 as the date.

27. Jacob Belmonte, who may be the one whose gravestone is undated. His name is found among those who signed the revised constitution and by-laws of the Hamburg Portuguese community, which received the confirmation of the senate on Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1837, as attested by the signatures of H. Gossler, "Dr. Reipublicae Hamburgensis Secretarius (Ex Commissione Amplissimi Senatus Hamburgensis)."
28. D(avid) A(bendana) Belmonte, who also signed the above-mentioned statutes. I suspect that he is the Belmonte (David Abendana) who was employed in the Hamburg post-office and who published a *Hamburger Comptoir-Tabelle von 1849*.¹ He must be the same person mentioned in the above list as No. 23.

According to the original statutes of both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic communities, every Jew resident in Hamburg was bound to belong to one or the other. This fact conferred upon him automatically the rights of citizenship. The law of Nov. 7, 1864, made a radical change in this respect and placed the granting of the rights of citizenship in the hands of the public authorities. This necessitated a further revision of the statutes of both congregations. Among the men who helped revise those of the Sephardic congregation there is mentioned a

29. Solomon (Abendana) Belmonte, whose name also occurs on a list of tax-payers drawn up in the seventies of the nineteenth century.² He may be the same one who, according to the common report, committed suicide by shooting himself about the year 1889.

The latest survivors of the family are:

30. Jacob Abendana Belmonte, who was living in Hamburg in 1904, and
31. a son of the last mentioned, living in Frankfort-on-the Main.

Some members of this Hamburg family must have migrated to Berlin.

32. Joseph, son of Isaac Belmonte, born in Hamburg, 1856. He had two children, Selika Belmonte, b. 1881, m. ? Roth, and Ernest Belmonte, b. 1882.

The Sephardim in Hamburg were not always blessed with that greatest of all blessings, peace within their own house. From time to time these internal dissensions became public scandals, either on account of the high-handed dealings of the leaders or because of the refusal of certain members to place themselves under the jurisdiction of these leaders. During the first years of the eighteenth century such a quarrel broke out between the members and the administration. In consequence, a cer-

¹ See Schröder, *Lexicon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller*, I, 215; Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, VIII, 43.

² See *Statuten der Portugiesisch-Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Hamburg*, Hamburg, 1867; Grunwald, loc. cit., p. 39.

tain number — among them a Belmonte — seceded from the chief congregation and formed one of their own. The names of these men are given as follows:

Joshua da Silva
Isaac da Fonseca
Haïm da Fonseca
Benjamin Musaphia and his two sons
Jacob Musaphia and his two sons
Isaac Belmonte
Samuel Steffens
Jacob Mayers and his five sons.

They met in the house of the Polish Resident Abensur and had as their spiritual head a certain Judah L. Ballin, undoubtedly a forefather of the well-known President of the Hamburg-American Line.

Belmontes, coming from Hamburg, were also among the early settlers of the Sephardic community at Altona. This new settlement was likewise due to discontent and disturbances that had originated in the mother congregation. These difficulties came to a head in 1703 when thirteen families packed up their belongings and went to settle in the neighboring city. Among these discontents there were two Belmontes, as may be seen from the following "Privilegien" granted to them by Frederick IV, king of Denmark: ¹

"Wir Friederich der Vierter von Gottes Gnaden König zu Dennemark Norwegen etc., thun kund hiemit, dass uns dreyzehnen Familien Portugieser Nation, so in unser Erbunterthänigen Stadt Hamburg wohnen, als nemlich Jonathan de Silva, Michael Meatob, Jacob Matioro, Isaac Mussaphia, Benjamin Mussaphia, Isaac Belmonte, Guidéon Labath Junior, Jacob Mussaphia, Jacob Belmonte, Abraham Mussaphia, Joseph de Silva, Jacob Samuel Jessurun und Daniel Brandon unterthänigst vortragen lassen, welcher gestalt sie sich wegen eines zwischen ihnen und denen Uebrigen selbiger Nation vorgefallenen Streits, von den andern zu separiren und nach Altona, umb daselbst zu wohnen, sich zu begeben [Willens] mit allergehorsamster Bitte, wir geruheten Ihnen gleich Isaac Fonseca bereits geschehen, eine allergnädigste Concession dahin zu ertheilen, dass Sie gegen erlegung einer gewissen Recognition ihre Negotia daselbst treiben, von dem Zwang der Hamburgischen Eltesten Portugiesen befreyet seyn, und [für] Ihre Todten nach wie vor auf dem Portugiesischen Kirchhof allemahl pro rata mit beyzutragen erbötig. Wann wir nun den Supplicanten allerunterthänigstem Gesuch in Königlichen Gnaden stattgegeben; also concediren und bewilligen wir Impetranten und ihren Familien hiemit allergnädigst, dass dieselbe gegen die von Ihnen offerierte Jährliche Recognition in Altona von der Portugisischen Nation Separieret ungehindert wohnen, Ihre Negotia daselbst treiben, von dem Zwang der Hamburgischen ältesten Portugiesen befreyt seyn, derselben Privilegien und beneficiis in specie des Kirchhofs und Begräbnis ohne alle

¹ Schleswig-Holstein Archives, XVIII, No. 3812.

Contradiction mit fähig, genießen, so dass in vorkommenden Schuld- und andern Rechtssachen vor unserm Magistrat in Altona ihr forum competens haben, und daselbst gerichtlich belanget werden sollen und mögen. Befehle darauf Unsern Beamten und Bedienten, wie auch Praesident, Bürgermeister und Rath Unserer Stadt Altona und sonst männiglich allergnädigst, diese dreyzehn Familien bey dieser Unser allergnädigsten concession bis an uns zu schützen und dawieder nichts zu verhängen. Uhrkundlich unter unserm Königlichem Handzeichen und fürgedruckten Insiegel.

Gegeben zu Friedrichsberg d. 20 Octobris Anno 1704.

(L. S.)

Friedrich R.

We are not told in what connection this break in the community stood to the one mentioned immediately preceding. That some connection must exist seems certain in view of the similarity of some of the names in connection with both movements. But whatever the cause, the new community in Altona was unable to increase in numbers, and its proximity to Hamburg robbed it of any importance it might otherwise have had. In the year 1887 the congregation was formally broken up.

It is quite impossible to draw up a genealogical tree of all the Hamburg Belmontes enumerated above. The inter-relationship of a few only can be determined from the data given upon the gravestones; any further conclusions would be based upon the purest conjecture. It is expressly stated that Solomon Hezekiah Belmonte (No. 2) and Rachel were man and wife. Sara (No. 5) is stated to have married Jacob, the son of the Solomon who may be the one just previously mentioned, while the Jacob may be the one occurring in No. 8. We would, then, get the following commencement of a pedigree:

Selomo Hisquiyahu Belmonte, d. 1676; m. Rahel, d. 1712.

|
Jacob Belmonte, d. 1739; m. Sara, d. 1730.

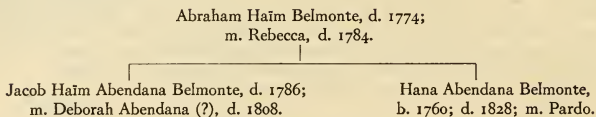
Again, Izhak Belmonte (No. 9) married Hana (No. 10) and had as issue at least one daughter, Lea (No. 7), viz.,

Izhak Belmonte, d. 1739;
m. Hana, d. 1749.

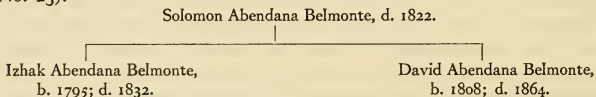
|
Lea Belmonte, d. 1734.

Abraham Haïm Belmonte (No. 13) married Rebecca (No. 14). It is possible that Jacob Haïm Belmonte (No. 15) was their son. This son married Deborah Abendana (? No. 18) and had as issue Hana, who

married a certain Mr. Pardo. We should, upon these suppositions, get the following scheme:



The relation of Solomon Abendana Belmonte (No. 19) to the preceding is not apparent. He had two sons, Izhak (No. 20) and David (No. 23).



There are only two further points that call for comment. It will be noticed that the personal name Jacob occurs with relative frequency in the short list, at least five times. This is also the case in Amsterdam, where one of the two lines of descent contains the name six times. It is evident that the original ancestor (1570-1630) was in the minds of the different parents, who in this manner desired to emphasize the family unity and descent. It will also be noticed that the Abendana-Belmontes are well represented at Hamburg, thus connecting them again with the second branch of the Amsterdam Belmontes. To these belong Jacob Haïm (No. 15), his wife Deborah (No. 18), Solomon (No. 19) and his sons, Izhak (No. 20) and David (No. 23). It is curious to see that one Abendana-Belmonte, Isaac (No. 26), went back to Amsterdam together with his whole family. It should be added, however, that too much stress cannot be laid upon the Abendana connection. There was a large family of that name indigenous at Hamburg. The remains of the Altona graveyard mention as many as forty-four persons so called.¹ It is, nevertheless, more than probable that the ancestors of the Hamburg Belmontes came from Holland. In fact, we have seen it to be distinctly stated that Solomon, the ninth child of Jacob Belmonte I, changed his place of residence from Amsterdam to Hamburg and that his son Isaac was buried there. This Isaac may possibly be the one mentioned in No. 9.

¹ Grunwald, *loc. cit.*, p. 94.

CHAPTER XI

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE COMMUNITIES IN GERMANY



THE BELMONTE FAMILY, AS WE HAVE SEEN, lived to the greatest extent in the two cities Amsterdam and Hamburg. That it was, however, not confined to these places has appeared at various points of the preceding investigation. We have come across it also in England, in the Dutch colonies of South America, in Jamaica, in southern France and in far-off Asia Minor. The Belmonte family makes its first appearance in Germany in Alzey, a small town in that part of the Rhine region known as the Bavarian Pfalz.

Given the known migratory character of the Jews, their search after avenues of advantageous trading and commerce, there is no part of Europe to which their going would *a priori* be improbable. The conditions of trade at the time with which we are now occupied were also factors tending towards further dislocations than we would tolerate or which are at all possible at the present day. With the telephone, telegraph and cable upon our desks and at our elbows, we are now practically at every moment of the day in actual contact with every part of the earth's surface. Business can be transacted with one word, with the turning of a single key. During the pre-telegraph and pre-railroad days conditions were entirely different. Both the seller and the buyer went in search of their goods, and went in search of each other. Business was continually travelling. Jews and Maranos had already been forced by a hostile church to do a good deal of roving. That was for conscience' sake, for their spiritual living. They had a body too; also families which, in general, were not apt to be small. For the physical living of themselves and these families proper provision had to be made. For both of these reasons Jews became inured to travel, to strange

environments, to changed conditions. They inbred into their own persons and transmitted to their descendants the qualities that make them so successful settlers wherever they choose to plant their tents.

To meet the commercial wants of former days referred to above, fairs and bazaars had been provided which cut the distance in twain that separated the two parties to a bargain. In Russia, as in other countries that are commercially backward, such annual fairs exist even at the present day; and of these, that at Nijni-Novgorod is the most evident example. For Central European and Germanic countries, Leipzig and Frankfort-on-the-Main were such centres, and the expression "to go to the Leipzig Messe" was practically the equivalent of "going to business" in general. This Leipzig "Messe" drew the Jews in large numbers, to such an extent that it became one of the items regularly recorded in what is known as the "Luah" or Jewish calendar, and even remains so to this day. The accounts of this Leipzig "Messe," which have recently been published,¹ show how numerous the Jews participated in this opportunity to trade. It might easily happen, and in fact did happen, that upon such business or "Messe"-journeys, relationships were established which in time became permanent. A man found some inducement to stay in the place to which he had come, a financial one sometimes, at others a sentimental one. He was followed by his relatives, and these together formed a group which might either develop into an important community or remain the growth merely of short-lived duration.

In just such a way the Maranos spread, with the exception, however, that their settlements never developed into large communities unless they had come in sufficient quantities or at an early date had been fortified by considerable accretions of their own people. Especially in mid-European countries they were prone to be swamped, drowned in a sea of Ashkenazic surroundings. Having often no communities already established which it was possible for them to join, they were apt to relinquish their peculiar names, their distinctive habits and their strange ways.

This is the process as the historical imagination would picture it. In the great lack of documents dealing with the Jewish Middle Ages (which extend all the way down to 1789), abundant proof of this is not forthcoming. Fortune has not been lavish in this respect. At the beginning of the present enquiry, the historians who were consulted were most

¹ See *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLV, p. 460.

sceptical. There seemed to be a general consensus of opinion that no proof could be brought to substantiate the assumption of Spanish and Portuguese settlements in Central Europe and especially on the Rhine. It was freely asserted that such agglomerations had existed only in France, Holland, England, Italy, Turkey and America, i.e., particularly in the maritime cities which had formerly had dealings with the ports of the Pyrenean Peninsula. A minute and careful search, however, has proven this dictum to be short of the truth in many respects. There seems now to be abundant evidence that such settlements did, in reality, exist, and where the existence of settlements cannot be proven, at least the presence of individuals can be demonstrated. It would, indeed, be strange if this was not the case. What the Maranos and the Spanish and Portuguese Jews did in other cases and in other lands, they did in Central Europe also. It is worth while noting in this connection that the Sultan Selim I of Turkey expressed much astonishment that Spain should have driven them from her territory and with them so much wealth. Another Turkish Sultan, Bajazet II, expressed the same idea to the Venetian Resident at his court, and the historian Sansovino tells us in 1487 that the Jews who had been driven out of Spain were the great teachers of the Turks in Constantinople, where the most considerable shops and work-places were under their superintendence.

The first traces of Sephardic Jews in the region of the Rhine are to be deduced from the fact that there were several Spanish-Jewish books published in that district, where one would otherwise not have suspected them. They were books which quite evidently were meant to be read and to be used. They were absolutely of no use to German-speaking and German-reading Jews. On the other hand, the Sephardim had preserved their love and the use of the languages which they had spoken in the land that had been their home for so many generations. Wherever they went, they were accustomed to make use of books in that language, just as some of the communities in Hamburg, in Amsterdam and in New York continued down to modern times to keep their congregational accounts and records in Portuguese. What construction are we then to put upon the fact that we find such a print done in the city of Mayence? It bears the title:

*Mabzor*¹: *Orden De Ros Hasanab y Kipur*, Translado en Espannol, y de nuevo emendado: Y annadido el Selihot, el qual se dice quarenta dias ante del dia de Kipur en las

¹ In Hebrew letters.

madrugadas. Estampado por industria y despesa de Yahacob Ysrael à 20 de Adar Anno de 5344.

which, done into English, means:

"Order of Service for the New Year's Day and for the Day of Atonement, translated into Spanish and newly corrected: To which are added the Penitential Prayers which are recited forty days previous to the Day of Atonement in the morning. Printed through the care and at the expense of Jacob Israel on the 20th of Adar in the year 1584." (Small 8vo; 327 leaves.)

As will be seen, we have here a revised Spanish translation of the order of service for the two most important festivals of the Jewish religious year. Who this Jacob Israel was we do not know. One would like to think that he is our own Jacob Israel Belmonte. But if our dates are at all correct, he was not yet in Amsterdam; and the bibliographers tell us that the formula "through the care and at the expense" does not pertain to a Maecenas, as one would naturally expect, but that it is the standing phrase used in those early times touching the printer and the publisher. At the end of this prettily and well-printed volume — three copies of which I have been able to consult, one in the Stadtbibliothek at Mayence, a second in the Stadtbibliothek at Frankfort-on-the-Main and a third in the Montezinos Library in Amsterdam — there occurs the following colophon:

"Estampado y acabado la presente orden de Roshasanah y Kipur á loor del Dio en Maguntia á 16 de Yiar, de 5344."

which means:

"Printed and finished was the present Order of Services for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, to the praise of God Almighty, in Mayence on the 16th of Iyyar, 1584."¹

There can be no doubt of the reading "Maguntia," and there is no dispute that this is the Latin form of the place-name "Mayence." The question arises naturally, For whom was this prayer-book printed? It seems certain that there was no synagogue built in this Catholic city before the year 1594; and even if there had been, it would have been a place of worship for Ashkenazim or German-speaking Jews. It is evident that there must, at that time, have been a community of Spanish-speaking and Spanish-praying Jews in the city. And indeed, wherever these Sephardim went, their footsteps can be followed by just such records done in print. They published quite freely. Even previous to

¹ The translation was printed for the first time at Amsterdam in the year 1553.

the expulsion, in 1492, we find Hebrew books printed at Guadalayara, Ixar, Zamora and at Fara, Lisbon, Leiria. Wherever they went, they carried the art with them. When they came to Italy, they published their Spanish Bible in Ferrara (1553), at Constantinople their polyglot Pentateuch in Hebrew, Spanish and Greek (1547). They not only carried with them their art, often also the very type. It is for this reason that there exists such a similarity between the type used in this Mayence Form of Prayers and that employed by the Sephardim in Amsterdam.

It has been suggested that though the book was indeed printed in Mayence, it was really meant for use in Amsterdam. But one may well ask, What possible inducement could lead the Amsterdam Jews to take such a course? We know absolutely nothing of any inhibition to print rituals and prayer-books in the city on the Amstel. Certainly, Protestant Holland would be apt to be more liberal in this respect than Catholic Mayence, under the rule, it should be noted, of an archbishop. And if there was no inhibition, there was no reason to affix in the colophon the name of the German city, even if the book itself had been printed secretly in the Dutch city. Why then go to the expense of carrying type far away up the Rhine and having the printing done there, if still greater secrecy had to be observed in bringing the finished product back to those who were to use it? ¹

One is forced to conclude that this Mayence order of prayers was printed because it was needed in Mayence itself. It is quite probable that Maranos lived there in secrecy, as they did in Portugal, as they did in England prior to the resettlement. That this is more than probable is seen from a curious bit of evidence which came to light during a search in the city archives in Mayence itself. I discovered a document there marked "Stadt-Archiv: Jesuiten. B. Lad. 36. f." It is a printed sheet in large folio giving a list of members of the order of Jesuits that met their death between the years 1545 and 1605. It bears the title, *Catalogus quomoden e societate Jesu qui pro fide vel pietate sunt interfacti anno 1545-1603. Magontiaa 1605*. Among the names there mentioned I picked out three that were of especial interest, Solis, Lopez and Acosta. In every Sephardic community these names are of most frequent

¹ On this Mayence "Form of Prayers" see a feuilleton, *Ein Mainzer Spanisch-Jüdisches Druckwerk des 16. Jahrhunderts*, by Dr. Heinrich Heidenheimer (archivist in Mayence), in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Sept. 8, 1898, No. 248 (Abendblatt); also *Zeit. für Hebr. Bibl.*, VII, 157; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, Nos. 2528, 8326 and in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissen. des Judentums*, 1889, p. 94 — who doubts the place of printing, but who had never seen a copy.

occurrence. They can be found as well in the records of the community in Newport, Rhode Island, as in those of London, of Amsterdam or of Hamburg. That the Maranos even masked as Jesuits need cause no surprise. They were fighting for their very life, and they had to fight a most determined enemy.

The city of Cologne is not far from Mayence; it is also on the Rhine. There too we have distinct evidence that Portuguese Jews had come into the district and that at about the same time at which the Mayence order of service was printed. The nuntius Bononi, writing to Cardinal Rustiacci at Antwerp under date of Nov. 16, 1585, says:

"Sono qui molti Portughesi gūn daijanti, a quali servano il Sabato et il resto della ceremonie hebraiche, se ben con molta secretezza";¹ i.e., "Many Portuguese have come here who observe the Sabbath and other Jewish ceremonies, although with much secrecy."

In the same connection it is worth while mentioning two Jewish prints in Spanish, which were published early during the seventeenth century in the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main. One of these is a collection of poems by a certain David Abentar Melo, a resident of Amsterdam. This collection has the title:

Los CL Psalmos de David, en lengua española . . . por David Melo. Dedicados al D. B. y à la santa Compañia de Ysrael y Yehuda, esparcida por el mundo en este largo cautiuero, y alcabo de Baraká del mismo David, y Cantico de Moyses. En Franquaforte año de 5386. (4to); i.e., "The 150 Psalms of David, in the Spanish tongue . . . by David Melo. Dedicated to D. B. and to the holy community of Israel and Judah scattered throughout the world in this immense captivity; to which is added the Blessing of the selfsame David and the Canticle of Moses. Frankfurt 1626."

A second and fuller title says that there are one hundred and fifty Psalms of David that have been done into Spanish and in various rhymes upon the basis of the word-for-word translation published in the celebrated Ferrara Bible of 1553, to which have been added some "allegories" written by the author himself and dedicated to D. B. Who this D. B. is we do not know. Does it stand for D(avid) or D(aniel) Belmonte? The supposition is quite a gratuitous one, but it is possible. Our great

¹ See *Nuntiaturreichte aus Deutschland*, I, 1: "Die Kölner Nuntiatür," p. 191. Padeborn, 1895. Boos is of opinion that the Jews in the Rhineland came largely from Italy and France; "Kölner Juden finden wir in Frankfurt und Worms, Wormser Juden in den verschiedenen Rheinstädten." See his *Geschichte der Rheinischen Städtekultur*, Vol. III, and a notice in the *Israelite*, 3d Beilage to No. 19, Mar. 5, 1900. Upon Jews coming directly from Amsterdam to Frankfurt, see Seeligmann, *Loose Bijdragen tot de Geschiednis der Joden in Amsterdam*, No. 2. On a Solomon, son of Jacob Belmonte, see *ibid.*, No. 5.

authority on the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, the late Professor M. Kayserling, is lost in astonishment at the fact that Melo should have had his work printed in the city of Frankfort.¹ He suggests that Melo may have accidentally passed through that city bent upon some other business, and, for one reason or another, have been induced to print there. He cites, as an instance in point, that a Lutheran, Cassiodoro de Reyne, who had been driven out of Spain and had sought refuge in Frankfort, had dedicated his translation of the Bible into Spanish to the senate of that city, out of thankfulness for the citizen's rights conferred upon him by that body. But if the Lutheran, fleeing before the Inquisition, found a home in the city on the Main, it is more than probable that Jews and Maranos, fleeing before the same terror, did the same, and that Melo published his work there, in part at least, for their benefit.

It was for exactly the same reason that the great Jewish Dutchman Menasse ben Israel also published his widely read *Conciliator*, in which he tried to reconcile seeming contradictory passages in Scripture, in that city. The full title of this publication is: *Conciliador, o de la conveniencia de los lugares de la S. Escripura, que repugnantes entre si parecen*. Francofurti. Auctoris impensis. 1632. Square 4to.

The fair or "Messe" at Frankfort was also an occasion for bringing Jews to that centre. Even if the aforementioned books had been printed in Frankfort only for the purpose of being disposed of at these annual gatherings, it must have been known that Jews needing and reading such books — and these could be only Sephardic ones — would come there or were in the neighborhood. It is in point then to note that this very same Menasse ben Israel gave a commission to his learned friend Vossius to buy books for him at the Frankfort fair.²

Now it was not mere chance that brought the Jews, and especially the Portuguese Jews, to Frankfort-on-the-Main. There was a distinct reason, and the time of their coming can be fixed approximately. The question as regards the number of inhabitants in the city from time to time has been a matter of much speculation and of learned compilation upon the part of the local historians and archivists, especially of such men as Bleicher, Bücher and Dietz. The population of Frankfort in the year 1387 is estimated to have been in the neighborhood of 9632. In 1440 it is supposed to have been 8700, but in 1520 it reached 10,000.

¹ See *Sephardim*, p. 171.

² See J. M. Hillesum, "Menasseh ben Israel" in *Amsterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 1899, p. 50.

There were several factors which contributed to this increase, not the least of which seem to have been the religious wars which were prevalent at that period. These wars raged severely, not only in the Netherlands, but also in some of the Rhine cities, where the intolerance of the leaders drove some of the best human material into the arms of Frankfort. In this manner Strassburg lost a great many of its well-to-do citizens. The riches of the lower Netherlands that had been stored in the city of Cologne were carried for safe-keeping into Frankfort, which city in this way became a stock-exchange centre. Similar events happened in Alsatia and the Pfalz. When Worms and Speyer were plundered, the better conditioned citizens emigrated to Frankfort; in fact, for a while, the whole administration of the two cities was transferred thither.

For the subject in which the present investigation is interested, it is important to note that the preponderating part in this immigration was taken by Netherlands. The date fixed for this is 1554. How large this immigration was may be judged from the fact that the population of Frankfort, which in 1550 was 11,500, had risen in 1600 to 20,000. It is *a priori* natural that (Portuguese) Jews followed in the wake of these Netherlands, from Amsterdam, Antwerp and Brussels, considering the large business ventures that went with the men from the north. The proof of this is to hand. It is found in the statistical figures of the Jewish part of the Frankfort population. In 1520 there were only 300 Jews in the city. In 1590 this number had risen to 1600. In 1610 it was as high as 2000, so that every tenth inhabitant in the city was of Jewish race. Frankfort behaved very liberally to her newly found sons, and they soon felt at home within her walls. It is of interest to note this connection of the city with the north of Europe, as many of the Frankfort historians have claimed that it was not in reality, as is supposed, a south-German city. Contrary to the conditions existing to-day, the accretions to her population came rather from the north, and her affinities lay in that direction rather than in any other.

Linguistically, also, there are indications of the presence of Sephardic Jews in the Rhine regions. There are two pronunciations of the Hebrew current among the Jews of Europe, in keeping with the two great divisions mentioned in the Introduction, one Sephardic, the other Ashkenazic. This difference is seen in the coloring of certain vowels and in the manner in which a few consonants are sounded, and is due largely to the difference of environment in which the two communities lived. In

earlier times the Sephardim were placed amid Arabic-speaking Moham-madans, later among a people that used a Romance language. Both of these surroundings were more favorable to the preservation of the original Hebrew sounds in the older Oriental character than were the Germanic and Slavic languages spoken by the peoples among whom the Ashkenazim grew up. The peculiar fortune of these latter brought it about that they carried the German Rhine dialect, which they had adopted in the early Middle Ages, into their new homes in Eastern Europe into which the cruelties of the Crusaders had driven them. When the return-wave of persecution compelled them to retrace their footsteps to the east, they carried back with them that same dialect, mixed as it had become with the words from the Hebrew which, in all circumstances, toward and untoward, had remained the language of prayer, of study and often of intercourse. This is the language that is technically called Judæo-German or, quite lately, Yiddish. Now in that form of the language that is spoken in southern Germany, there are several peculiarities which are at once recognized as un-Ashkenazic: Kah(a)l (congregation), Chawer (friend), Kaschern (declare or make ritually clean), Bacher (student), where the pronunciation of the "a" vowel is peculiar; neschires (riches), where the distinctive "n" sound given to the letter "ayin" is quite Sephardic; and mohl (circumciser), where the pure "o" sound is unusual. These as well as other peculiarities of pronunciation are characteristically Sephardic, and it is more than probable that they were carried into these districts by such persons as were in the habit of using them.¹

We are not, however, entirely dependent upon such more or less indirect proof. In connection with another city, directly on the Rhine, there is decisive and direct proof of Portuguese Jewish settlements, from which other settlements and individuals can easily have spread in many different directions. I refer to the important town of Mannheim, in which a Jewish community of some consequence had been settled for many hundreds of years. The city itself enjoyed privileges which were not ordinarily granted to other cities in the Kurpfalz. It was favorably situated, both as regards its military position and its commercial possibilities. The Jews came there bent on business. They, too, received concessions which their brethren in other cities were unable to attain—in such manner and with such success that they dominated with ease, both

¹ See Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-Deutsche Cbrestomatbie*, p. 143.

in point of number and in influence, all the other Jewish communities in the neighborhood.

The first formal settlement of Jews in Mannheim seems to have been made about the year 1660. This is the date at which the Kurfürst Karl Ludwig gave a concession to five families to fix their residence in the city. The beginning of the document granting the concession reads as follows: ¹

"Wir Carl Ludwig von Gottes Gnaden, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein etc., etc. thun kund hiermit, dass wir sowohl denen in unserer Stadt Mannheim sich bereits häuslich niedergelassenen, als noch ferner dahin ziehenden deutschen Juden auf ihr unterthenigst flehentliches Bitten die gnädigste Verwilligung gethan und mit ihnen abhandeln lassen, als hernach folgt," etc.

In the paragraph cited it will be noticed that the Jews to whom the concession is given are mentioned specifically as "deutsche Juden." If these were the only Jews to be considered, there would, of course, be no need to mention that they were "German." The reason why they are thus singled out is that there were already Jews of Portuguese origin as well as those of German in the city of Mannheim. In the plan of the city drawn up in the year 1663, three years after the granting of the concession just mentioned, and published by Feder,² thirteen houses are designated as inhabited by Jews and two extra ones as belonging to Portuguese Jews, i.e., Sephardim. If any further evidence were needed, it is given in the documents relating to the purchase of the Jewish cemetery. In the year 1661 a piece of ground situated "in dem Bollwerk hinter dem Hutterischem Brüderhof" was sold to the community for the sum of thirty florins. It was in active use from that date down to the year 1839. A memorandum recording the agreement was drawn up and signed by all the Jews in the presence of the "Direktor, Schultheiss, Burgermeister und Rath." The signatories are as follows:

"Macholt, Hertz, Läser, Simon, Isac, Salmon, Zallel, Mosis, Mannus und Daniel, alle sampt von der teutschen, benebenst Emanuel Carcassone, Abraham und Moïse Astroucg von der portugiesischen Judenschaft."

Here we have a direct and definite mention of a Portuguese, i.e., Sephardic Jewry in Mannheim. It is true that both names, Carcassone and Astroucg, show that the bearers were Portuguese Jews from the south of France; but just as well as Portuguese or Sephardic Jews

¹ *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Juden in Deutschland*, I, p. 76. It is signed "Heydelberg den 1 Sptbris Anno 1660."

² *Geschichte der Stadt Mannheim*, I, 144.

passed from the south to the north, they passed from the north to the south, i.e., from Hamburg or Amsterdam to the Rhine region.¹ In fact, Carcassone was considered to be the head of the whole Jewish community in Mannheim, and in 1665 strife arose over his election as such. The German element, which was evidently the more numerous, held that the chief officer ought to be selected from out of their own midst.² The very fact, however, is evidence of the position he must have occupied. In 1677 the Mannheim "Judenschaft" consisted of 59 persons, who paid 219 florins out of the 2000 freely contributed in aid of the government. In the year 1680 the inhabitants of the city were called upon to contribute 7500 florins as a war-tax. The Jews, to the number of 78, paid 1024 florins, 30 kreutzer, of which sum Astroucg and Carcassone, being among the richer, contributed each 55 florins. Hard times, however, came upon the Jews of Mannheim. Too many of their number had felt the attractions of a city where they were allowed to concentrate and trade with freedom. In 1681 the authorities closed the door and ruled that not more than 200 might live there. Added to this was the devastation wrought by the French military. Many were forced to leave and spread into the neighboring cities and villages.

In the year 1691 a renewed concession was granted to the Mannheim Jews³ by the Pfalzgraf Johann Wilhelm (1690-1716), through which those that had fled were allowed to return. The first paragraph of this new concession — "So geschehen Düsseldorf, den October 1691" — reads as follows:

"Von Gottes Gnaden wir Johann Wilhelm Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, des hl. römischen Reichs Erzschatzmeister etc., etc., fügen hiermit zu wissen, nachdem uns die Judenschaft deutscher und portugiesischer Nation, so vormalis in unserer von der kron Frankreich in jetzigem Krieg barbarischer Weise zerstörten Stadt Mannheim gewohnt, unterthänigst zu vernemen gegeben, was Massen sie gesinnt, sobald es die Zeiten zulassen werden, ihre zu Mannheim von dem abgebrannt — oder sonst zerstörten Häusern noch habende Plätze wieder aufbauen — und sich alda häusslich niederzulassen. Dannenhero Ermelter Judenschaft unterthänigst angesucht, sie ferner in unsern Chur- und Landfürstlichen Schutz und Schirm daselbst gnädigst auf- und anzunehmen . . . mithin ihre vorige Schirmconcession in ein und andern jetzt gestalten Sachen nach, geändert und eingerichtet, ihnen in Gnaden dergestalt respective ertheilt, confirmirt und bestätigt," etc.

¹ There were Carcassones also in Constantinople; see *Revue des Études Juives*, XXV, 202; Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

² Feder, *loc. cit.*, I, 118.

³ "So geschehen Düsseldorf, den 12 October 1691" is the subscription of the document.

In like manner the seventh section commences:

"Soll gedachte Judenschaft *beider Nationen* der Stadt Mannheim" . . .

The sixteenth section is as follows:

"16. sollen die deutschen Juden sich mit der allgemeinen Judenschaft *ratione* des Tachengeleits¹ wie bisher, solange die Freiheit währt, abfinden. Nach Endigung der Freiheit aber, wann sie Schutzgeld Schatzung und gemeiner Stadt Beschwerden tragen, von gemeltem Taschengelt² befreit bleiben: die *Portugiesen* über sollen kraft absonderlich hievor ihnen erteilter Concession, ferner davon befreit sein, und im übrigen *beide* Theile von denen in unserm Land aufgenommenen Juden einigermaßen nicht dependiren, oder denselben einen Beitrag zu thun schuldig sein, sondern dieser in specie ihnen verboten sein ihnen Mannheimern, in was sach oder was Weis es auch wäre, einiges Gebot oder Monitorium wie sie es nennen, *per directum* oder *indirectum* anzulegen, sondern sie unter sich zu schalten und zu walten haben."

Finally, section 20 contains this provision:

"Letzlich soll den *Portugiesischen* Juden in den ihnen bei ihrer Ankunft zu Mannheim ertheilten Concession enthaltenen 1. Artikel wegen ihrer Gewissensfreiheit, weniger nicht der 13 Artikel *ratione* derjenigen, so von ihnen posterriren, befreien von Bauen der Häuser, hiermit in Gnaden confirmirt sein."

It is impossible to gainsay the witness of the aforementioned paragraphs from the grant of the year 1691. It is formal proof of the existence in Mannheim of a well-regulated Portuguese-Jewish community. Otherwise there had been no need to mention as separate bodies on the one hand the German, on the other the Portuguese Jewry, or to speak of the "Judenschaft *beider Nationen*." Indeed, it would seem that at one time the Portuguese division was perhaps the more important of the two. The twentieth section cited above speaks only of Portuguese Jews and leaves the "German Jews" entirely out of consideration. One might perhaps imagine that this was due to pure negligence and that the intention in the mind of the authorities was to include all the Jews living in Mannheim in the privilege accorded. But that this was not the case can easily be seen from a third document, a "Concession" accorded to the Jews of the city by Kurfürst Karl Philip in the year 1717.

This new charter confirms in express terms all the concessions made in the charters of the years 1661 and 1691, adding to the latter a few matters of exceptional import. In one material point, however, it differs from its predecessors. It contains no mention of the "Judenschaft *beider Nationen*," and it does not in any way differentiate

¹ A special tax which they had to pay in order to ensure them safety from trouble.

² Another special tax, a receipt for which they had continually to carry about their persons.

between German and Portuguese Jews. In place of this, it speaks of "unsere Schutzverwande Judenschaft in unserer Stadt Mannheim," or of "die gemeine Judenschaft," or simply of "die Judenschaft der Stadt Mannheim." One is led to believe that by 1717 all differences between the two categories had disappeared. Yet this is by no means the case. Article 23 of this 1717 charter, which corresponds to article 20 of the charter of 1691, reads as follows:

"Soviel die *Portugiesen* betrifft, lassen wir es bei voriger unterm 20 October 1691 gnädigst ertheilten concession sowohl in Art. 16 wegen Befreiung des Taschengeleits, als auch Art. 20 wegen Befreiung des Hausbauens, jedoch aber mit diesem expresse gnädigsten Befehl, dass sich selbe in Allem der gemeinem Vorsteher machenden Verordnung, nebst dieser Concession ganz gemäss halten und nachleben, auch unser Hof- und Ober Miliz Factor Michael May und dessen Erben denem *Portugiesen* gleich gehalten werden sollen, gnädigst bewenden."

From the foregoing it appears that the Portuguese community was still in existence as a body in the year 1717. It is peculiar that certain privileges are granted to them that are evidently not granted to other Jews.¹ They are freed from the "Taschengeleit." They are not compelled to build houses. This exceptional state went so far that in the year 1700 a certain Jacob Levi received a dispensation from building simply because he had married a Portuguese wife. It is difficult to imagine the reason for this special treatment. These Portuguese must have made some special arrangement with the authorities freeing them from these taxes. But even in such exceptional circumstances, they were unable to hold their own. The documents give us no information as to their ultimate fate. Probably they became merged into the general body of Jews and lost as a separate entity. In the new charter of Apr. 16, 1722, no trace of any distinction is to be seen. We read there simply of the "Judenschaft" or "Landjudenschaft."

It is difficult to be precise as to the place of origin of these Portuguese Jews in Mannheim. The time of their coming seems to have been about the middle of the seventeenth century. They are already referred to in the charter of 1661 as a permanent body. I have said that it is quite as probable that they came from the north as from the south. There was every reason for them to come up the Rhine. From very early times Jews had taken this direction, and in the dread days of the Crusades some escaped the general drive eastward and went south. We

¹ See Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 134, 169.

have very many instances of Cologne Jews being found in Worms. A certain Joseph Jacob of Geldern,¹ who had been for forty years President and Shtadlan of the Jews in the counties of Jülich and Berg, died in Mannheim on June 20, 1772.² On other occasions this Joseph has the title "Hofkammeragent." In the year 1679 we know that a number of Portuguese Jews left Hamburg. In regard to Amsterdam we are even better informed. In 1664 one Abraham, son of Herz of that city, desired to settle in Mannheim; but the Jews of the latter place raised an objection to his coming upon the plea that he had been put in excommunication by the rabbinical authorities of the Dutch city. Again, a certain Alexander Mayer Traub held the position of "Almoner of the Poor" in Mannheim.³ He was born in Amsterdam. And this connection with Amsterdam is further evidenced by its mention in both the charter of 1661 and that of 1771. Section 10 in both reads as follows:

"Mögen die Juden ihrer Gewohnheit nach heiraten, jedoch dass sie ratione gradum der Verwandtschaft sich also verhalten, wie andre Juden im Römischen Reich, sonderlich in der Nachbarschaft Frankfurt und Worumbs, jeziger Zeit zugelassen ist, auch aller dings wie zu *Amsterdam* und dass sie die getroffene Heiraten jedesmal beim Stadtrat anzeigen."

This connection with Amsterdam was also at times evident in an inverse sense: It is known that some Mannheim Jews settled in Amsterdam, e.g., the Lehren family at the end of the eighteenth century.

The life of the Jews in Mannheim was not always a quiet and happy one. They suffered their proper quota of the lot that befell their brethren throughout Germany. The years 1689 and 1695 are mentioned as years of difficulty and want. It should, however, be added that this condition was due in large measure to the general state of war that existed in Europe at the time. When the French soldiers were quartered in the city, the Jews were especially affected. They had already been plundered and had tried to bring some of their goods to safety by sending them to their friends in Frankfort. But their losses were so great that they felt compelled to ask for a loan of 2000 florins from their sister community in Worms.⁴ It was at this time that many families, as many as sixty or seventy, fled the city. Mannheim had been destroyed, and the Jews scattered in all directions, chiefly into the smaller places in the

¹ *Israelite*, Beiblatt, March 5, 1900, p. 22.

² See Brisch, *Gesch. der Juden in Köln*, II, 131; Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 128.

³ See Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

vicinity. The following list of such places was drawn up in 1679 and was entitled, "Specification der sambtlichen Mannheimer schirmsverwanthen Juden, so vor der Zerstörung Mannheims alda gewohnt."¹ The following places are mentioned:

Neu-Mannheim	Wien	Trebern	Gemhaussen
Heidenheim	Donauwörth	Frankfurt	Caub
Weinheim	in Holland	Bockenheim	Hademar
Schriessheim	Mossbach	in Sachsen	Hatzfeldt
Ladenburg	Weingarten	überm Rhein	Marckbrait
Lindelfss	Wimpffen	Maintz	Arbisch bei Würzburg
Eberbach	Bentzheim	Hanau	Regensburg
Necker Elnz	Lehem		

Alzey is not mentioned in this list, but it is quite probable that Jews from Mannheim eventually found their way there, as it had a community that had been settled there for many hundreds of years and must have been known to those seeking a safe place of refuge.

One further point deserves mention. Among the fifty-three personal names mentioned in this connection, there are also some that were evidently not borne by German, but rather by Portuguese Jews, e.g., Samuel Astrouc, Wolf Sabbatha, Simon Hayum, Israel de Montel, Lazarus Alcan, Joshua and Johanna Astrouc.

¹ See Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 131.

CHAPTER XII

THE BELMONTS IN ALZEY



THE LITTLE TOWN OF ALZEY IS SITUATED in that part of the Rheinland known as the Pfalz. It now lies on the railroad halfway between Bingen and Worms, thirty-four kilometres from the first of these stations and thirty from the second. It is also on the line connecting Mayence with Kaiserslautern. A look upon the map shows that, a little to the left of the river Rhine, it is in a segment of the German Empire which from the earliest Middle Ages has been a habitat of the Jews.¹ The Crusades had driven them from the district of which Cologne and Coblenz are the centres. They came up the Rhine and with Mayence and Frankfort as new points of concentration, spread out into the space which has the Rhine as centre and which is marked off by the towns Würzburg, Nürnberg, Carlsruhe, Metz and Kreuznach. But it was not only into the larger cities that they forgathered. Every village, almost every hamlet, had its quota. We can best study this spread in the Martyrologies — called “Memor-Bücher” — which a reverential posterity has drawn up in order to honor at certain specified times the memory of those who have died in and for the faith.

Alzey was no exception to the rule. Its congregation is as old as are the congregations in most of the smaller towns; in some of the larger towns the documentary evidence goes back still further. At least during the tenure of power held by the Pfalzgrafen Ruprecht I (1329–1333) and Rudolf II (1353–1390) the number of Jews in Alzey must have been quite considerable. The awful year 1348–1349, which played such havoc with all the communities in this region and with many more in Germany, Alsatia, Switzerland and Austria, — the awful year of the Black Death, when the scourge that rushed with whetted sword through Europe, and

¹ Salfeld, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches*, Index, s. v.



for which the Jews were to be made responsible, wiped out thousands of innocent lives, demanded its toll of Alzey also. The place is mentioned in the "Memor-Bücher" as the scene of persecutions by the side of Bretten, Gemersheim, Sobernheim, Kaiserslautern and many others. A document still exists in the archives of Darmstadt¹ concerning a certain Bonifant, a Jew and a citizen of Alzey (1383-84); a second dated Apr. 9, 1390, dealing with a house in Alzey belonging to Gotschalk the Jew. We cannot follow the history of the Jews of the town — which, it should be remarked, was the chief town of a district similarly called — as no documents are forthcoming for the purpose. Nor is it necessary. Their round of life was the same as that of their brethren in other places. From the Pfalzgräfen they had to buy the privilege of existence, the right to travel, the means to gain their livelihood. They were carefully watched and intently restricted. Ever and anon the ill-will of the people around them or the wants of the rulers above them made life a little more of a burden than it usually was. Physicians only were apt to acquire release. The needs of the body demanded attention; it was immaterial from whose hand medicine and healing came. Thus in 1491 Pfalzgraf Philipp (1476-1508) gave the right of free movement within his domains to the "Judenarzt" Solomon, and then officially took him for ten years in his guarantee ("Schutz") in the city of Münster of the district of Alzey. Every movement was regulated — and payed for. On Feb. 19, 1529, the Pfalzgraf Ludwig, in a document subscribed to at Alzey, allows the "Kaiserliche Diener und Rabbi unter der Judenschaft" Schmoll in Worms to go to the "Messe" in Frankfort; and in 1530 permission is given to a "Fallenmacher" Mosse in the same city to betake himself for business to Alzey, Oppenheim and other places upon the market-days of those towns.

It was also from this source that a great part of the revenues of the Pfalzgraf were derived. A document, drawn up in 1548,² gives a list of all the Jews that were then living in the domains of Frederick II (1544-1556), together with the amounts paid by each for the protection afforded by the government. About forty-four persons are mentioned as living "im Ampt Altzei und Dirmstein," though the town of Alzey is not specifically mentioned. The first four entries will suffice to show the nature of the document:³

¹ K. W., Nos. 5157, 5160.

² Grossherzogliches General Landesarchiv in Karlsruhe, Fasc. 4, Rubric "Judensache."

³ In the 1550 one we read, e.g., "Berman von Riddersaulnheim nimpt das glait zu altzei"; Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

"Baruch zu Osthofen sol geben LX fl halb bart. und halb mich. —

Juda Baruchs Dochtermann zu Osthofen sol geben XXXI fl. vf martini. —

Isaac zu Westhofen sol geben IC fl halb bart. halb Lucie — und dan 40 fl für sein stif sone Isaac genant, 20 fl Lucie und nest Ostern auch XX fl

Hirtz zu Gross Karlenbach sol geben XX fl halb bart. und halb mich."

A similar document of the year 1549 and a third of the year 1550 are in existence. This latter, which is much longer than the two preceding ones, contains little bits of local color, of which the following is a specimen:¹

"No Lemle zu Bornheim, dem ist von wegen der Lugerei er mit dem Juden zu Hendschusheim begangen, das ampt Alzei, sich desselben gentslichen zu enthalten, verbotten, sol sein habenden schirm brif zur Cazlei liffern unnd wo er doruber dretten wurde, sol d. burggrave zu altzei Ime darumb zur Dhurmstraff einzichen unnd seine Misshandlung zur Canzlei berichten und ferner bescheid darunter gewarten."

Though in all these documents few distinct mentions are made of the town Alzey — perhaps because it was the district seat — it is named in a document of the year 1554 (Mar. 3), in which it is stated that the Kurfürst Frederick had taken Kalman and other Jews of Kreuznach under his "Schutz und Schirm und bewilligt, dass sie 3 Meilen Wegs um Kreuznach und was in solch Bezirk gelegen ist, als gein Alzei, Bacharach, Ingelnheim und Montzingen, doch nicht mehr als auf ein Hausgesess 3 Personen zu machen haben und der Orte Geld- und Geleistfrei sein sollen."

The importance of Amt Alzey as a business centre is seen in a list of Jews who had received permission to come and live there. This list is entitled, "Verzeichnis ausslenderischer Judennamen denen von Jetzt Pfingsten (15)55 bis auf Pfingsten (15)56 Ins ampt Alzei glaît gegeben worden." It contains the names of one hundred and two persons. One of those so listed seems to have been deeply concerned in a plot connected with the succession to Kurfürst Frederick II in 1556, when that prince lay on his deathbed in Alzey itself. Alzey is further mentioned in a document dated 1674.

Coming to the eighteenth century, we possess a list of the Jewish families resident in the Kurpfalz, which was drawn up in the month of February for the purpose of renewing the charter which had been given on Apr. 16, 1710, by Carl Philip for a period of twelve years. Sixty-three families are specified for the "Oberampt Altzey," for the town of Alzey itself the following:

¹ See Löwenstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 45.

1. Joseph Simon Vorsteher
2. Simon
3. Samuel
4. Nathan
5. Seligmann
6. Isaac
7. Wolff Benjamin
8. Josel
9. Jockel's Witib

In the year 1743 it was again necessary to commence negotiations for the renewal of the charter. On June 7 of that year the Kurfürst Karl Theodor gave orders that a careful registration should be made of all Jews in the Kurpfalz. The data furnished by this list, which contains also the amount which each member was to pay in taxes, are of much interest. The four hundred and eighty-eight families in the Kurpfalz were to be held collectively responsible for the sum of 36,517 florins. The largest amount, 4670 florins, is assessed by the authorities upon the Oberamt Alzey, seeing that it contained a larger number of families (sixty-one) than any other part of the domain. For many years their number does not seem to have changed, for, according to Widder's computation, in the year 1786 there were sixty-two families in the Amt Alzey. The following assessments were laid upon the Jewish residents of Alzey town:

Simon Jessel	450 florins
Elias Jessel	175 "
Isaac Nathan	30 "
Elias Joseph	200 "
Seligman Raphael	150 "
Simon Joseph	125 "
Jessel	20 "
Isaac Jessel	20 "
Sam Jessel	20 "
Wolff's Wittib	15 "
Kusel Nathan	20 "

The sources of information in regard to the Belmont family in Alzey are of four kinds:

(a) The documents in the town archives. One would expect to find the "Standesamptregister" a source of the clearest information in regard to a family that has lived for two hundred and fifty years in the place. These registers, now deposited in the "Notariatsbureau," were carefully

searched by G. L. Kayser in the year 1895 and by the present writer in the year 1898. Unfortunately these records do not go back beyond the end of the eighteenth century, i.e., the time that the Pfalz and Rhein-Hessen came into French power. It is definitely stated that from the previous "Kurpfalz" times no records are forthcoming. In fact, it was only on Jan. 28, 1785, that a "Generalverfügung der kurpfälzischen Hofkammer" made it necessary for the parties involved to give notice of a wedding to the civil authorities in order that the government might feel certain that the bridegroom had paid the necessary "Schutzgeld." And even the records that do exist are not complete, as they do not contain the full birth, marriage and death records of members of the Belmont family that are known to have lived there.

(b) The documents in possession of the Jewish community. These records the present writer found to be in much disorder. Valuable papers and books were discovered piled up in a corner covered with dust and quite unbeknown even to the officials. The book preserved with greatest care was the minute-book of the trustees of the synagogue; but within the forgotten pile there was found an old "Memor-Buch," giving an account of the men and women who had merited well of the community. This is, of course, written in Hebrew and gives data for much of the early history of the Alzey Jews.

(c) The cemetery, or rather the cemeteries. There are two in Alzey; but unfortunately the oldest is in such a state of waste that nothing can be made out of the inscriptions which are to be found upon the tombstones. In the more recent cemetery nine stones were found bearing inscriptions relating to the Belmont family. The list of these names is:

1. Simon Belmont, born Jan. 31, 1789; died Nov. 30, 1859.
2. Joseph Florian Belmont, born 1791; died May 12, 1870.
3. Friederike Elsass Belmont, born June 16, 1790; died June 9, 1821.
4. Leo Belmont, born Oct. 5, 1812; died Nov. 28, 1871.
5. Raphael Belmont, born (?); died Nov. 18, 1865.
6. Karoline Hernnsheim (born Belmont), born May 23, 1778; died Apr. 27, 1847.
7. Simon Belmont, born July 24, 1835; died March 10, 1891.
8. Isaac Belmont, born Oct. 27, 1839; died Dec. 26, 1886.
9. Ludwig Belmont, born May 28, 1847; died Aug. 22, 1829.

(d) Private information in possession of members of the family and of older inhabitants of Alzey.

The name Belmont, as that of a family, has been known in Alzey since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prior to that time the Jews there, as in the whole of Germany, did not possess family-names. They had continued to use the old patriarchal form of denominating a man as the son of his father, who also was cited by his surname. In order to distinguish between men who bore similar names — and the choice was greatly limited — the place of origin was occasionally added and would gradually develop into a quasi family-name. At other times the man's occupation would distinguish him from his fellow. Where neither of these is the case, research is rendered peculiarly difficult, wherever definite documents are not to hand. A similarity in surname or in place of origin occasionally helps one to a genealogical connection or a possible affiliation. In this respect as in others, the conquests of the Napoleonic epoch made a profound impression upon the Jews. On the whole, the impression was not merely a political one; it was social as well. French language, French ways and manners entered to soften the somewhat gruffer and less polite customs that had been in vogue there. A sort of paternal rule came over the Jews, but one that was on the whole kindly and in many ways to their advantage. Ideas of equality and of like justice to all commenced to make themselves felt. The Napoleonic era remains distinct in Jewish history as the period during which the Jews modernized themselves, their customs and their ceremonies. Such a modernization came often by royal decree. At the time it was apt to be considered a harsh measure and a use of brute force. But such harshness was at times needed, else the Jews might not, of their own account, have emerged from the morass into which the whole legislation of the Middle Ages had condemned them.

It was such a royal decree that Napoleon sent out in 1808 ordering that the Jews should adopt family-names. It was no easy matter for them to obey, and at times they were much perplexed. When the royal commissary appeared to ask them their choice, there were many who were still nonplussed, and the commissary used his own judgment in himself naming them, or even cracked his little joke. His judgment was not always sane, his joke not always benevolent. At times he did his duty in a perfunctory manner and seemingly with a dictionary in hand. Only in this way can we explain such a collection of names as Rose, Rosenkranz, Rosenberg, Rosenthal, Rosensteig, Rosenwald, Rosenstock, Rosenheim and Rosenzweig; or the series Munter, Lustig,

Froehlich, Heiter. At other times his malevolence was only too apparent, as when he dubbed the poor Jews before him Rindskopf, Rindsfleisch, etc. Again the word "son" was suffixed to the father's name, which gave Abrahamson, Isaacson, Jacobson, Mosesson, Davidson, Jonahson and the like. A third class of family names came from the places in which the persons or their forebears had lived: Abraham of Ladenburg became A. Ladenburg, Jacob of Nachod became J. Nachod (or Nachode), Isaac of Warburg became I. Warburg, Jacob von Grünstädt became J. Grünstädt and Isaac zu Oppenheim became Isaac Oppenheim or Oppenheimer. A fourth class came from the signs which distinguished the houses in which the persons lived. The most notable examples of this are the Rothschilds or "Red Shields," the Schwarzschilds or "Black Shields," Weisfeld, Grünberg, Goldman, etc.

All the names discussed above are German. There is not one of them that belongs to the Latin family of languages. There were, however, other Jews who refused to be treated in a manner so cavalier and themselves made choice of the name they and their people were to bear. These were usually the men of certain means and of a certain standing in the community. They could dictate and had no need to be ordered. But when they chose, their choice would naturally fall upon some German name which perhaps bore some similarity to a Hebrew or a quasi family-name born by some ancestor. Where a name was chosen that was other than German or Hebrew, the choice must have been motivated by some special reason; and the only reason possible was a tradition — either certain or vague — that such a family-name had been in use at some previous date. And as the only section of Jewry that had before this been accustomed to use family-names were just those who had inhabited countries in which a Romance language was spoken, one is led to conclude that wherever such a Romance name was adopted in Germany, it must have been done in response to a tradition that the owner was descended from Spanish or Portuguese Jewish stock.

This must have been the case with the Isaac Simon who was the first in Alzey to adopt the name Belmont. It is quite certain that even at that time the family was perhaps the leading one in the community. Isaac Simon had the right and the good sense to choose, and in choosing as he did he can only have been following a tradition that he was descended from the Belmonte family either of Amsterdam or of Hamburg. In fact, this tradition was current in the little German town and was

vouched for to the present writer in 1898 by a Mr. Neuberger, the oldest inhabitant of Alzey at that time, who since then has died.

It is true that there was a place-name in the "Amt Alzei" called Schonberg or Schonenberg, where Jews had lived for many hundred years. But we have absolutely no evidence that an early member of the Belmont family either lived there or was connected with it. Nor is there any reason apparent why the French translation of a German name should have been adopted in a purely German country. No similar case can be cited in support of such a view. The tradition that Isaac Simon undoubtedly had must have been handed down in the family for several generations, ever since some member of the Belmonte family, in the process of infiltration sketched in Chapter XI, had settled in Alzey itself or its neighborhood. When the moment came and the opportunity presented itself, Isaac Simon was ready to revive it. That he used the French form and not Spanish-Portuguese, and dropped the final "e" vowel is not surprising. The French commissary was before him and French culture was already making its way.

It may be of interest to note that this was not the first time that the Spanish form of the name had been preserved in France. A search among the documents dealing with the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish communities that had grown up in such large numbers in southern France has revealed there also the presence of Belmontes. In the municipal archives of the city of Bordeaux there is preserved the official record kept by the local Mohel (circumciser) during the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is entitled, "Thesoro de los circumcidados, que hage Jahacob de Mezas empesando de edad 25 ano 1706." The following entry occurs under date of 1717:

"Belmonte, Abraham Castro, père de Mardochée David,
circoncis 7 Avril 1717, parrain Mardochée Mendes."

From this note it is evident that a family of Belmontes — perhaps Castro-Belmontes — existed in Bordeaux. Whether they came directly from Spain and Portugal, or whether from Hamburg or Amsterdam, is a question insoluble at the present moment. But from the following facts it will be seen that here also, in Bordeaux, the name took on a French turn. Curiously enough, we are taken back to Amsterdam. A glance through the directory of that city revealed the presence there of a Henry Charles Antoine Belmont. The family is Catholic of faith and I

was able to secure the printed announcement of the death of Henry's father, to wit:

Heden overleed, na een langdurig en smartelijk lijden, na voorzien te zijn van de HH. Sacramenten der Stervenden, onze geliefde Echtgenoot, Vader, Behuwden Grootvader

Eugène Charles Belmont,
in den ouderdom van bijna 52 jaren.

Wed. E. C. Belmont,
J. F. Weterings.
H. C. Belmont.
E. G. Belmont-Van Elst.
H. Soederhuijzen.
M. J. Soederhuijzen-Belmont.
C. J. Belmont.
C. J. Belmont.
J. F. Belmont.
H. M. Belmont.
A. A. Belmont.
A. A. Belmont.
P. M. Belmont.

Amsterdam, 17 Augustus 1900.
Kerkstraat 381.

The father, Eugène Charles Belmont, had come to Amsterdam from southern France. Though the son exhibited no distinctly Jewish features, the pictures of the father and the sister unmistakably did. Indeed, the latter, when young, had been nicknamed by the street arabs "the pretty Jewess." There can be no doubt that we are in the presence of descendants of such Belmontes as remained within the fold of the Catholic Church and did not give up their Maranodom when they immigrated into a freer land, at a later time relinquishing the peculiarly Spanish-Portuguese form of their name.

The same must be true of a certain Francis Vachori de Belmont, a French missionary who died in Montreal in 1732. He was of noble birth and in 1860 was charged with a mission to the Iroquois Indians. About the year 1701 he became superior of the Catholic seminary in Montreal. He also wrote a *Histoire de Canada*. Finally, there was a painter and engraver named Jean Antoine Belmont, who was born at Troyes in 1696. But it is quite impossible to tell whether he had any connection with the other Belmonts mentioned in this chapter.

It has been shown in a special chapter that we possess definite information concerning Spanish-Portuguese Jewish settlements along the

Rhine, and especially in the district of which Mannheim was the centre. It has further been shown that there were precise connections between such northern cities as Amsterdam with Frankfort itself, and it is interesting to note that in Frankfort to-day there live descendants of both the Belmonte and Belmont families. The suggestion is, therefore, offered here that some member of the Belmonte group, either from Hamburg or from Amsterdam, found his way up the Rhine, settled in a purely Ashkenazic (German) community, such as were those of Sobernheim and Alzey; that his family became completely absorbed into its surroundings, but was able to preserve the tradition of its descent; and that a late descendant revived the name when the Jews of the Pfalz accepted family designations. It is, naturally, impossible to present in documentary form all the individual links that go to make up this chain. The reason for this is that only in a few cases have Ashkenazic Jews preserved the knowledge and the account of their lineage. They moved about too freely and lived too often in untoward circumstances to make this possible. But in all genealogical studies such breaks are apt to occur, and in fact do occur. The presumption of all the available evidence becomes then the only ground upon which one can stand, and that presumption is exceedingly strong in the case of the Belmonts.

The earliest history of the Belmonts in Alzey, as evidenced in the "Memor-Buch" of that community, leads us back to a certain Simhah, son of Ephraim, who, it is stated, died in 1685 and was buried in Sobernheim. It will be noticed that this date synchronizes in point of time with the period during which the Belmonte family was most flourishing both in Amsterdam and Hamburg. Where Ephraim was born we are not told, not even where he lived and died. His burial-place, Sobernheim, is a picturesque little place, still walled as it was centuries ago, about twenty-two kilometres from Kreuznach on the road to Mayence. The stone marking Ephraim's grave would, no doubt, have given some further information in regard to his person. A most diligent search, however, failed to reveal its whereabouts. The older part of the present cemetery is all fallen into ruins, the stones are broken into hundreds of pieces, and not one of the inscriptions can be deciphered. We are, therefore, left to speculate why Ephraim was buried there. It is possible that, at that time, permission was refused to bury Jewish bodies in Alzey and that it was necessary to take them to Sobernheim. Or he may have lived in that place (Sobernheim being mentioned as a

residence of Jews as early as 1348)¹ and his son have come to settle in Alzey. This son is named Joseph Jessel, the second name being one often used by the Jews, and conspicuously so by the late Master of the Rolls in England, Sir Joseph Jessel. Joseph Jessel's wife, Hannah, died in 1716; he himself in 1738. The couple had two sons, Isaac, who died in 1712, and Ephraim Simon, who died in 1742. The family seems to have used by preference the names "Jessel" and "Simon," either of which might, had there not existed the tradition referred to above, have developed into a real "family-name." It should be added that in the accounts of the Leipzig "Messe" there appear between the years 1678 and 1690 the following names:

Joachim Simon
Joseph Simon
Lazarus Simon
Joseph Simon

It is possible that reference is had here to our Joseph Simon and to members of his family.²

Who, then, was this Joseph Simon? The veil of mystery that envelops these forebears of the Belmonts is raised a little at one of its corners, and we get a slight view behind. This view is sufficient to convince us at least that even at that early time the family was of some importance. In the Alzey "Memor-Buch" Joseph Jessel is mentioned as "Vorsteher der Juden in Amt Alzei," leader of the Jews in the circumscription of Alzey. Now in the list drawn up in 1722 and cited above, the first entry is that of "Joseph Simon Vorsteher." There can be no reasonable doubt that the two are identical, and it is probable that the man's full name was "Joseph Jessel Simon." As the acknowledged head of the Jews in Alzey, he was responsible to the government for the good order of the community, as well as for the strict enforcement of all obligations that had been laid upon them. The second list of 1743, also cited above, commences with the item "Simon Jessel." There are several other Jessels in the list. Joseph, it is true, died in 1738; but the reference may well refer to his family, especially as we have seen that he was taxed a much larger amount than any other mentioned on the list.

Of the two sons of Joseph, Isaac and Ephraim, we know nothing, unless

¹ A family tradition has it that he lived for a time at Waldböckelheim.

² See *Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLV, p. 487.

the first be the "Isaac Jessel" found in the list of 1743. Ephraim Simon (died 1742) had at least two sons, (1) Elias Simon who married Schendel (died 1786) and who died 1795, and (2) Isaac Simon. We would willingly read more about this Isaac Simon; but all we know about him is that he was the first to take the family-name Belmont and that he was the most prosperous Jew in Alzey. He had some time previous to the year 1800 loaned to the town the sum of 30,000 florins.¹ Of this sum, 9500 florins had been paid back; the 20,500 florins remained as a debt due to his heirs. The documents collected by G. L. Kayser say that in the year 1790 this sum was turned by the four children of Isaac Simon into a "Belmont-Stiftung." Either he then was already dead, and the date given in the "Memor-Buch," 1813, must be wrong, or he must have distributed his fortune among his children before his death. The objects of the "Stiftung" were to provide in part for the salary of the Alzey rabbi and verger, in part for the expenses of the synagogue and in part for purely eleemosynary help. The members of the family are bound to meet once a year in Alzey for the election of the board of trustees of the "Stiftung."

Isaac Belmont died in 1813, having been predeceased by his wife Rosa in 1786. The two may be regarded as the direct forebears of the four branches of the Belmont family. They had issue:

1. Aaron Isaac Belmont, died 1791.
2. Simon Isaac Belmont, died 1805.
3. Loeb Isaac Belmont.
4. Johanna Belmont.

Leaving Aaron for the moment, it is sufficient to state that, according to the official registers, Simon Isaac Belmont died Mar. 26, 1805. According to the "Memor-Buch" he had a son Nathan Belmont, who died in 1810 aged 25 years.

The third son, Loeb Isaac Belmont, is the only one of Isaac Simon's children whose descendants still live in Alzey, though some of his great-grandchildren are inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia. Loeb had a son, Charles Frederick Belmont, born in the year 1777. He married Mariana Leopold.² Their children were three daughters and one son,

¹ I was told by surviving members of the family in Hamburg that this loan was made at the time to permit the town to buy its freedom from the French invaders.

² The following information was given me by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald of Philadelphia, at one time head Librarian of the Manuscript Department of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., a nephew by marriage of Max Belmont (No. 8).

Leo Belmont, born Oct. 5, 1812, married Rosina Laib, died Nov. 28, 1891. His tombstone is No. 4 in the list aforementioned. Of his marriage there was the following issue:

1. Simon Belmont, born July 24, 1833; died Mar. 10, 1891 (List No. 7).
2. Isaac Belmont, born Oct. 27, 1839; died Dec. 26, 1886 (List No. 8). His widow was living in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1901.
3. Henry Belmont, living in Philadelphia, Pa. (U. S. A.); had issue:
 - (a) Leo, living in Mayence, Germany.
 - (b) Theresa.
4. Emil Belmont; had issue living in Alzey.
5. Sigismund Belmont; widow and son of Louis living in Philadelphia, Pa.
6. Mary, married Sternberg, living in Limburg-on-the-Lahn.
7. Louis (Ludwig) Belmont, born May 28, 1847; died Aug. 22, 1892; no issue (List No. 9).
8. Max Belmont, married Belle Friedenwald, living in Philadelphia, Pa.; has issue, Emily Belmont.
9. Mathilda Belmont, married Charles Neuberger; living in Alzey.
10. Moritz Belmont, unmarried, living in Alzey.
11. Emma Belmont, unmarried; lives in Alzey.
12. } Two children, died in infancy.
13. }

Johanna Belmont, the daughter of Isaac Simon, married a Mr. Reinach in Mayence, of a family that in recent times has become famous in Paris through the Baron Joseph de Reinach the banker, and his three nephews, Joseph Reinach, *député* in the French Chamber and writer on economic subjects, Solomon Reinach, Membre de l'Institut, *député* and archaeologist, and Théodore Reinach, *député* and historian. The present representative of the family in Mayence is Geheimer Commerzienrat Hermann Reinach, who is described as "Grossherzoglicher Beigeordneter." A "Belmont-Stiftung" also exists in this place, with the purpose of providing a marriage-portion for improvident girls. Aaron Isaac Belmont, the eldest son of Isaac Simon Belmont, married Gertrude Lorsch and died in 1791. He had issue:

1. Simon Belmont, b. 1789; d. 1859.
2. Joseph Florian Belmont, b. 1790; d. 1870.

The eldest son of Aaron Isaac, Simon Belmont, was born on Jan. 31, 1789, and died in Alzey, Nov. 30, 1859 (see the copy of the entry in the Notarial Book, Appendix X). He married in 1808 Frederika Elsass (born 1790; died June 9, 1821), daughter of Joseph Elsass of Mannheim (see copy of entry in the Registry of Deaths, Appendix

X). She died in No. 39 Sanct-Georgen Strasse. The marriage certificate of Simon Belmont (as the name is written) in the archives of the city describes him in 1808 as "Commissaire surveillant des Synagogues du Canton d'Alzey." This shows that he occupied the foremost position among the Jews of the whole canton or amt, a position held by his ancestor Joseph Simon, who is designated in the list of 1722 as "Vorsteher." In fact, Simon Belmont was for many years president of the congregation and as such has signed the minutes of its meetings. These minutes are preserved in the congregational archives. He was a landed proprietor, owning vineyards in the neighborhood of Alzey and a house in town.

Joseph Florian Belmont married Sophie Karlebach, a resident in the city of Mayence. A copy of the marriage certificate is in the official Registry of Marriage. Florian was, probably, the richest Jew in Alzey. Creditable tradition in the family says that his estate was at that time worth the equivalent of a million dollars in our present money. Of his issue, a daughter, Anna, married the celebrated parliamentarian and member of the German Reichstag, Dr. Ludwig Bamberger. For many years she and her husband lived in Amsterdam. They left issue, one daughter.

Simon Belmont had issue:

1. August (Aaron), b. 1813; d. 1890.
2. Elizabeth, b. 1819.
3. Joseph, b. 1820.

The eldest son was originally named Aaron (born Dec. 8, 1813; see copy of document from the Registry of Births, Appendix X); but, as was often the custom in those days and still is to-day, a more modern name, August, was substituted for it, the custom being to choose a name beginning with the same initial.

The daughter, Elizabeth (familiarly called "Babette"), was born Apr. 2, 1819 (see copy of document from the Registry of Births, Appendix X). She married Stephan Feist of Frankfort-on-the-Main and had issue:

1. Frederica, m. R. Brach in Hamburg; has issue.
2. Carl Feist-Belmont; d. April, 1896; had issue, one son (died unmarried) and one daughter; widow still living.
3. August.
4. Johanna, m. Behrend in Hamburg.

Of Joseph Belmont (born 1820), the third child of Simon, nothing is known. There must have been others of the family than those mentioned in the accompanying pedigree. The descendants of Simon Isaac (d. 1805) are not given and may, perhaps, be included in the other names found. Thus, the official Registry of Births gives for the year 1808 the record of the birth of an Abraham, son of Edouard Belmont and of his wife Rosette Trier, and in a further document, dated 1840, this Abraham is also mentioned. It is impossible to say where he belongs. In looking through the synagogue roll of membership, the following names were found for the year 1832:

Belmont,	Simon Senior
"	Eduard Witib
"	Joseph Florian
"	Carl Friedrich
"	Simon Junior

Of these, Simon Senior is the father of August Belmont, while Simon Junior is unknown. "Eduard Witib" is the widow of the Edouard just mentioned. Joseph Florian and Carl Friedrich are easily placed.

It might also be mentioned that a Leo Belmont in St. Petersburg translated in 1903 J. Simmel's work on the Philosophy of Money from the German into the Russian under the title of *Filosofia Pieniadza*. See supplement to *Prawda*, I, 1904. I have no means of knowing if he is related to the Belmonts of Alzey.

CHAPTER XIII

AUGUST BELMONT



AUGUST BELMONT, THE FATHER OF THE American branch of the family, was born in Alzey on December 8, 1816. Of his youth little is known, but his natural mental alertness must have felt constrained in the narrow limits of the small Rhenish town which, about a year before his birth, had been incorporated in the Grand Duchy of Hesse. He left that town and went to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he entered the banking house of Messrs. Rothschild. There he must early have proved his mettle, for when he was but twenty-one years of age he was sent in 1837 to Philadelphia in connection with some pending business of his firm; and seeing the possibilities opening up for the development of the country, he resolved to make the United States his home. He then settled in New York.

His natural disposition, aided by the fact that he represented in this country the banking house of the Rothschilds, soon brought him into prominence. An unfortunate duel fought at Elkton, Indiana, in August 1841, with William Hayward of South Carolina, injured him physically—a fact which he in after years deplored, especially because it prevented him from taking up arms in the great struggle that was to convulse the country of his adoption. The comparative drudgery of the counting office could never claim his whole attention; and we find him in 1848 accepting the position of Consul General for Austria—a position which he held until 1850, when he resigned. He married in 1849 the daughter of Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the noted American Expedition to Japan, brother of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, who commanded the American fleet at the battle of Lake Erie.

At an early date of his sojourn in the United States, and because of his conservative views in politics, he became attached to the Democratic Party. For his services in that connection, and because of his more intimate knowledge of European affairs, he was appointed by President Pierce, in 1853, to be *Chargé d'Affaires* at The Hague, becoming in 1854 Minister Resident there. In a letter addressed to certain friends in New York, he expressed his satisfaction at being sent to represent his adopted country in a land that had "first battled for civil and religious liberty against the mightiest power of Europe"; and his inherent democratical sentiment was shown in his insistence upon wearing civilian dress and not a uniform at his presentation to the King and at other State functions. While at The Hague he negotiated a Treaty with Holland for the extradition of criminals and a Consular Convention with the Government to which he was accredited. He retained this position until 1858.

Returned home, he threw himself with all the ardor of his nature into home politics. He became a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1860 as a steadfast supporter of Stephen A. Douglas, becoming its Chairman and remaining its head until the year 1872.

Belmont's services preceding and during the fateful 1861-1865 were many, and were all upon a high plane of enlightened patriotism. As a Democrat he had many close political friends in the South; but his principles forbade him to become a party to anything that resembled force in compelling the slave-holding States to a change of policy. His liberal views, however, made it impossible for him to countenance slavery as then practiced in the South; and above all he was passionately attached to the Union. While endeavoring to press his views as to the "remedying" of what he considered to be "the just grievances of the South by early and prompt action," he was at the same time insistent that secession must be fought at all costs. To use his own words: "We were fighting the battle of the Union and the Constitution against fanaticism North and sectionalism South." But when once the Union was in danger he threw himself whole-souledly into the work of aiding the preservation of the republic. He raised the first German regiment in the City of New York and on May 5, 1861, presented it with a flag.

Belmont also labored hard to prevent foreign Powers, notably France and England, from recognizing officially the Confederacy. Through his connection with the Rothschilds in Paris and London, he was able to



bring pressure to bear upon the Government of Louis Napoleon and upon the English Cabinet in the persons of Lords Palmerston and Russell. To all of them he represented the financial strength of the North in contradistinction to the weakness of the South, and he pressed upon them a consideration of the eminent justness of the principles for which the North was fighting. In 1861 and again in 1863 he was in Europe; and he acted there as a sort of unofficial Ambassador of his Government. His letters from Paris and London to William H. Seward gave a clear picture of the state of mind of the leaders of opinion in the two countries.

During the period of reconstruction, he occupied the same position, advising a compromise of the Confederate claims that remained as the result of the rebellion and in denouncing all harsh measures of reprisal. He continued to interest himself in politics as a Democrat, and worked hard to secure the election of General McClellan to the Presidency in 1864, as he did for the election of Governor Tilden. In that year he left the field of active politics, though he appeared from time to time on the political platform — for the last on November 9, 1884, at the Academy of Music, New York, in celebration of the election of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States.

In his private life he was a patron of painting; his home was a noted social centre, its appointments and cuisine were famous. He was passionately fond of horses and in his leisure indulged his tastes for fine equipages and four-in-hand driving. He was also a leading member of the American Turf and bred his own thoroughbreds. He died in 1890, and was buried in Newport, Rhode Island, with all marks of esteem from his countrymen, leaving three sons: August, Oliver and Perry. A selection of his letters and speeches was printed privately in June, 1870. This was reprinted, with additions, under the title: *Letters, Speeches and Addresses of August Belmont*, New York, 1890.

APPENDIX I

EL CONDE DE VELMONTTE

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL

Estado — Legajo 6392 — Carp. no. 34.

Senor mio hauiendo sauido esta ya despachado mi titulo en conformidad de la resolucion de su Majestad Passo a suplicar á V. S. se sirba mandar se entregue al Portador I ansi mismo el de mi hermano el Conde de Velmontte mediante hallarse en la ciudad de murcia siruiendo la superinttendencia de Rentas Reales de aquel Reynado y hauer quedado yo al servicio de V. S. con aquella buena ley que deuo desseando muchas ocassiones en que manifestarla. Guarde Dios á V. S. muchos años como pue de madrid y febrero 16 de 1694. = B.I.m. su mayor servidor = Il^lMarqués de Castrillo = Rubrica. = Señor Don Eugenio de Marban.

APPENDIX II

JUAN DE PACHECO, SEÑOR OF VELMONTE

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO-NAÇIONAL

Ms. Dd. — 90 fº 316.

Asi mismo certifico que haviendo reconocido con particular cuidado y muy por menor el Archivo de la dignidad episcopal. haviendo separado en el diferentes ynstrumentos tocantes a la fundacion, y ereccion de la Iglesia collegial de Velmonte resulta de ella que la Parroquial Iglesia de San Bartholome de la expresada Villa fue erigida en collegiata por el obispo de Burgos D.ⁿ Luis de Acuña en virtud de Bulla que el Papa Pio segundo despacho en Mantua en los Kalendas de Diziembre año de la encarnacion 1449. ganada á pedimento y solicitud de D.ⁿ Iuan de Pacheco, Marques de Villena, Señor de la dicha Villa de Velmonte, y fue erigida vajo del pie que hoy subsiste, que es de vn Priorato, vna Dignidad de Chantre, otra de Thesorero seis Canongias, quatro raziones; asignose para la dote de ella los Beneficios y ventas de la dicha Parroquial, y diferentes otros Beneficios de libre provision en las Diocesis de Cuenca y Cartagena y Lugares del dicho Marques de Villena.

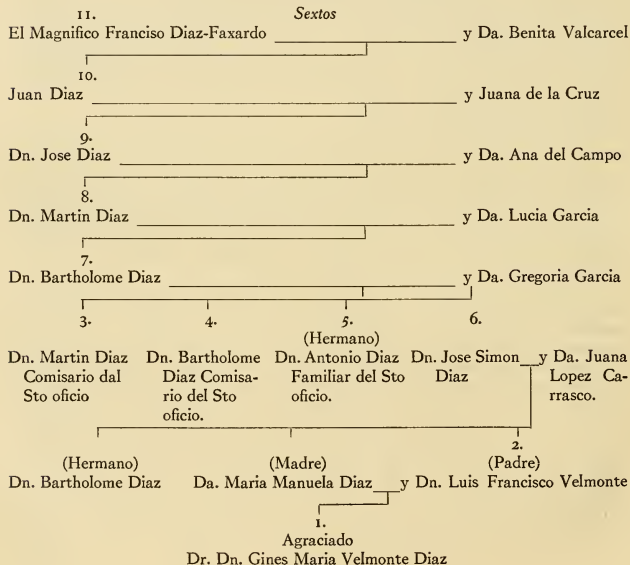
Como la dotacion se havia hecho con la vnion de Plaras Eclesiásticas de libre provision y los Marqueses de Villena se havian apropiado el Patronato, se suscitó pleyto en el año de 1548 entre el obispo Dn. Diego, y D.ⁿ Diego Pacheco sobre la provision de las Dignidades canongias y Prebendas de la expresada Collegiata, y haviendose el juicio posesovio en la Sagrada Rota: se resolvió este á favor del Marques manutieniendo y amparandole en la quasi posesion de la expresada Collegiata y su Patronato y derecho de presentar, para lo qual se despacharon los correspondientes executorias con fecha de 16 de Septiembre del expresado año de 1548.

Despues de lo qual como esta instancia solo havia sido en el juicio posesorio en tiempo del obispo D.ⁿ Gaspar de Quiroga ynquisidor General se volvio á subcitar en la propiedad el expresado pleyto pretendiendo el obispo como ordinario la provision de las expresadas Dignidades Canongias y Prebendas de la citada Collegiata y el Marques de Villena solicitar que le eva debido el Patranato por habersele concedido los Papas Alexando Sexto, y Tulio Segundo y confirmado clemente octavo y estando pendiente en Roma el expresado pleyto se concordaron las partes y otorgaron su escriptura de concordia en Madrid a 19 días de Henero de 1576 de la vna parte el expresado Señor D.ⁿ Gaspar de Quiroga Obispo de Cuenca y de la otra D.ⁿ Iuan Hurtado de Mendosa, conde de orgar, como Procurador de la Señora Dona Iuana de Toledo Marquesa de Villena, Duquesa de Escalona como Madre y tutora de D.ⁿ Iuan Fernandes Pacheco su Hijo Mayor Marques de Villena y Duque de Scalona en la qual se capitulo que es Patronasgo de la dicha Iglesia Collegial de San Bartholome de Velmonte quedase á favor de los dichos señores Marqueses de Villena y la presentacion de todas sus Digni-

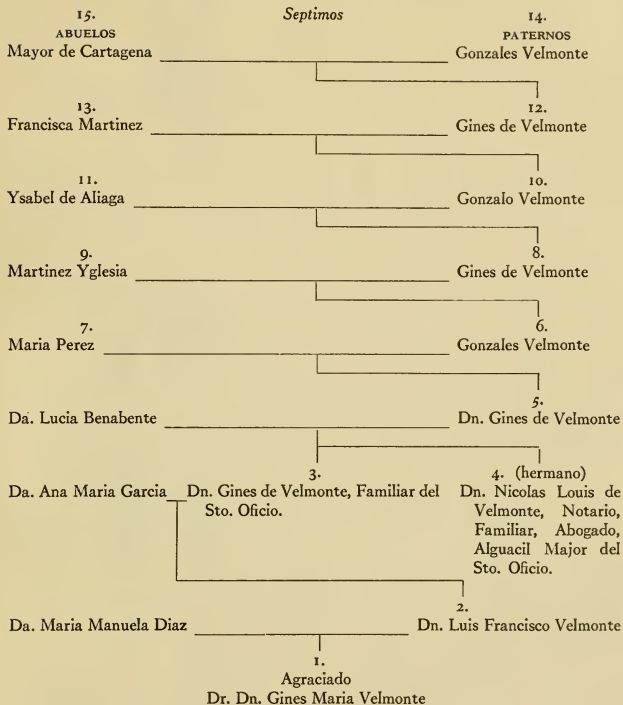
dades Conongias y Prevendas, y la Collacion de ellas á el obispo que por tiempo fuese de Cuenca, con tal que el expresado Señor obispo tubiese la facultad de proponer para dos cononicatos y vna Racion perpetuamente y siempre que vacasen dos personas de las quales havia de elegir y presentar el Marques vno forzosamente y sin embargo de que esta concordia, se acordó por las partes el que se solicitase aprovacion de su Santidad no consta que esta se executase, y solo si que la expresada concordia se obserbo en tiempo del expresado Señor obispo y del Señor D.ⁿ Juan Fernandes Vadillo subcesor pero despues con el motivo de haver vacado vno de los referidos Canonicatos que conforme á la concordia debia proveer el Señor obispo, y provistolo el Señor Marques de Villena se volvio á suscitar el pleyto, y se impetraron Bullas para que conociese de el cierto Iuer Apostolico ante el qual se pidio y dio la posesion al Presentado por el Marques de que apelo el Fiscal ecclesiastico y se quedo sin séguirse por consiguiente los Marqueses se han quedado con la absoluta presentacion de todas las dignidades, canongias, y Prebendas y despojada la Dignidad.

Segun mas por menor resulta de los referidos papeles e ynstrumentos que volvieron á colocarse en el referido Archivo de orden de su illustrissima por su Secretario. Cuenca y Diciembre 13 de 1790. Dn. Asensio de Morales.

ARBOL DE LA LINEA MATERNA



ARBOL DE LA LINEA PATERNA



ARBOL DE LA LINEA MATERNA

Sextos

11.

El Magnifico Francisco Diaz-Faxardo

y Da. Benita Valcarcel

10.

Juan Diaz

y Juana de la Cruz

9.

Dn. Jose Diaz

y Da. Ana del Campo

8.

Dn. Martin Diaz

y Da. Lucia Garcia

7.

Dn. Bartholome Diaz

y Da. Gregoria Garcia

4.

Dn. Martin Diaz,
Comisario del Sto.
Oficio.Dn. Bartholome Diaz,
Comisario del Sto.
Oficio.

5.

Dn. Antonio Diaz,
Familiar del Sto.
Oficio.

6.

Dn. Jose Simon Diaz

y Da. Juana Lopez Carrusco

(Madre)

Da. Maria Manuela Diaz

(Padre)

Dn. Luis Francisco Velmonte

(Hernano)
Dn. Bartholome Diaz

Agraciado

Dr. Dn. Dines Maria Velmonte Diaz

APPENDIX III

JOSEPH MANUEL VENTIMIGLIA, PRINCIPE DE BELMONTE

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL

Estado — Legajo 3472-3473 — Carp. No. 4.

Documents relating to the request of Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia, Principe de Belmonte, to be raised to the dignity of a Spanish Grandee of the First Order.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

- A. Letter from the Electoral Duke of Bavaria to the king of Spain; dated Dec. 18, 1705.
- B. Action of the Council of State in the matter referred to; Mar. 18, 1706.
- C. Action of the Council for Italy; Apr. 1, 1706.
- D. Letter of recommendation of the Marques de Salas to the Marques de Villarias; Portici, Oct. 22, 1743.
- E. Appeal of Belmonte to the king (Philip V?).
- F. Letter of Belmonte to de Villarias; Palermo, Oct. 4, 1743.
- G. Documents to show that similar honors had been accorded to Don Joseph de Aguaviva y Aragon, Marques de Tripuzi; dated Naples, Jan. 25, 1743.
- H. Repetition of demand made to the king.
- I. Letter of Belmonte to de Villarias; Palermo, May 8, 1744.
- J. Letter of Belmonte to de Villarias; Palermo, Aug. 28, 1744.
- K. Letter of Belmonte to de Villarias; Palermo, May 7, 1745.
- L. Repetition of memorial to the king (1765).
- M. Letter of Belmonte to the Marques de Grimaldi; Caserta, May 7, 1765.
- N. Letters to Belmonte from Marques de Salas (Portici, Sept. 21, 1743); to Belmonte from Marques de Villarias (San Lorenzo el Real, Nov. 19, 1743); to Belmonte from Marques de Salas (Naples, Oct. 14, 1743); and from Marques de Villarias to Marques de Salas (San Lorenzo el Real, Nov. 19, 1743): all copied from the originals; Caserta, May 3, 1765.
- O. Negative answer of Chancellery (?) to demand; Aranjuez, May 28, 1765.
- P. Renewed memorial of Belmonte to the king (1769).
- Q. Letter of Belmonte to Marques de Grimaldi; Portici, May 23, 1769.
- R. Negative answer (of Grimaldi?); June 12, 1769.
- S. Letter of Belmonte to Marques de Grimaldi; Naples, June 18, 1771.
- T. Patent granting the demand; San Lorenzo, Oct. 29, 1771.
- U. Pro-memoria from the Duca di S^a Elizabetta to de Grimaldi; Madrid, Jan. 26, 1772.
- V. Note to Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyeneche, giving full title of Belmonte; El Pardo, Jan. 29, 1772.

- W. Pro-memoria of the Duca di S^a Elizabetta to Marques de Grimaldi concerning the diploma; Madrid, Feb. 5, 1772.
- X. Note to de Goyeneche concerning the proper form of the name; El Pardo, Feb. 7, 1772.
- Y. Letter of Belmonte asking that his grandeeship be raised to the first class; Caserta, Dec. 3, 1776.
- Z. Negative answer; Madrid, Dec. 24, 1776.

(A)

Bruselas A 18 de Dezembro 1705.

A Su Magestad.

Rezibida en 11 de Febrero siguiente.

El Duque de Baviera.

Por el Principe de Veintemilla Governador de Charleroy sobre que se le exima por su vida o por el tiempo que estuviere sirviendo de la paga de 300 ducados anuales de Lanzas por Conde del Peñon de la Vega; y que la media annata que debe del titulo de Principe se le desquente y reciva en quenta de dos libranzas que tiene despachadas y de sueldos vencidos en atencion a sus servicios y falta de medios.

Señor.

Constandome de los sueldos vencidos que haze a la Real Hacienda, el Principe de Veintemilla, Governador de Charleroy y de lo mal parada que se halla su hacienda en el Andalucia por haversele quitado parte de los Juros y alcanalas que la componen, de que le hazen pagar anualmente treisientos ducados por los derechos de lanzas como Conde del Peñon de la Vega y que ahora se le ha insinuado necesita pagar por los derechos de media annata del titulo de Principe de Veintemilla, cinco mil y ochenta reales de plata, sin otros tres mil reales de plata mas por la dispensacion en caso que el feudo no sea vastante; y considerando que no se halla el Principe en estado de poder satisfazer estos derechos, expecialmente en un tiempo de guerra como este, donde queda haciendo los gastos que corresponden a sus grados y en donde los pagamentos son tan irregulares como lo pide la estrecher presente de medios devo por la obligacion que me incumbe representar a Vuestra Magestad que los referidos derechos del titulo de Principe, se le podrian descontar aquí a quenta de dos libranzas que tiene despachadas de mil y trescientos escudos, y lo demas hasta el entero cumplimiento de los referidos derechos a quenta de sus sueldos vencidos y que por lo que mira a los trescientos ducados de lanzas que paga todos los años como Conde del Peñon de la Vega, podría Vuestra Magestad servirse de mandar así mismo se le exima de ellos por su vida u a lo menos por todo el tiempo que continuare el Real servicio, esperando de la justificacion de Vuestra Magestad y de la especialidad con que Vuestra Magestad se digna de atender a mis suplicas, se ha de servir de conceder a mi contemplacion, al Principe una y otra gracia por los motivos y razones que expreso. guarde Dios la Catolica Real Persona de Vuestra Magestad como es menester. Bruselas 18 de Diziembre 1705. M. Emanuel.

(B)

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL

1706 — Grandeza — Principe de Ventimilla — Sobre
la imposibilidad de satisfacer el derecho de Lanzas etc.

Consulta de Estado. — En vista de la carta del Elector de Baviera, en que expresa que constandole de los sueldos vencidos que haze á la Real hazienda el Principe de Veintimilla, Governador de Charlerroy, y de mal parada que se halla su hazienda en el Andalucía, le hazen pagar 300 ducados por los derechos de Lanzas, como Conde del Peñon de la Vega; y que tambien necesita pagar los derechos de media anata del titulo de Principe de Veintimilla, y otras cantidades. Que considerando el Elector no se halla el Principe en estado de poder satisfacer estos derechos, especialmente en un tiempo de guerra, como este, debe representar á V. M. que los referidos derechos del titulo de Principe se le podrian descontar allí, á quenta de dos libranzas que tiene despachadas de 1300 escudos y lo demas cumplimiento de los referidos derechos, á quenta de sus sueldos vencidos, y que por lo que mira á los 300 ducados de Lanzas, que paga todos los años, como Conde del Peñon, se le exima de ellos por su vida, ó á lo menos por todo el tiempo que continuare el Real servicio, esperando el Elector se ha de servir V. M. de conceder á su contemplacion al Principe una y otra gracia por los motivos referidos. El Consejo es de parecer que por lo que mira á la paga de lanzas se remita esta instancia á la Junta de Presidios (por tocarla) para que informe á V. M. lo que se la ofreciere sobre lo que en esta parte representa el Elector, y que se ejecute lo mismo, de que informe el Consejo de Italia en lo que mira á la forma, en que propone la satisfacion de derechos y media anata por el Titulo de Principe por correr su despacho por aquel Tribunal; Y si despues remitiere V. M. á este Consejo uno y otro, dirá lo que le pareciere en ello. — Pidieronse pareceres al Consejo de Italia, y á la Junta de Presidios á cada uno por lo que le toca en 25 de Marzo de 1706, Y al Consejo de Italia se le embio la cuenta original del Duque de Babiera. — El Consejo de Italia en consulta del 1º de este mes, dice que en lo que mira al punto de 3000 Reales de partida que debe pagar por la dispensacion del feudo rustico, que es el que toca á aquel Consejo, se podra condescender á la propuesta de que se le cargue en quenta de las libras que enuncia tiene. Y en lo demas se remita á las partes donde toca.

De Parte. — Madrid A 18 de Marzo de 1706. — Acordada en 16. — El Consexo de Estado — Con carta del Elector de Baviera á favor del Principe de Veintimilla sobre la dificultad que tiene de satisfacer las lanzas como titulo y los derechos y media annata de Principe, proponiendo la forma en que lo podra executar. — Hay una rúbrica. Don Joseph Pri de la Puente.

Conde de San Tisteban, Marques de Castelrodrigo. Señor. Con Decreto de 18 del passado de sirve V. M. remitir al Consejo la carta adjunta del Elector de Baviera de 18 de Diziembre del año passado en que expresa que constandole de los sueldos venzidos que haze á la Real Hazienda el Prinzipe de Veintimilla Governador de Charlerroy, y de lo mal parada que se halla su hazienda en el Andaluzia, por haversela quitado, parte de los Juros y Alcabalas que la componen de que le hazen pagar treientos ducados por los derechos de Lanzas, como Conde del Peñon de la Vega, y que aora se le ha insinuado, nezessita pagar por los derechos de media annata del titulo de Prinzipe de Veintimilla, cinco mill y ochenta Reales de plata, sin otros tres mill Reales de la misma moneda,

por la dispensazion en casso que el feudo no sea bastante; y considerando el Elector que no se halla el Prinzipe en estado de poder satisfacer estos derechos, espezialmente en un tiempo de Guerra como este, en que queda haziendo los gastos que corresponden a sus grados y en donde los pagamentos son tan irregulares como lo pide la estrechez presente de medios; dize debe por la obligazion que le incumbe representar á V. M. que los referidos derechos del titulo de Prinzipe, se le podrian descontar allí, á quenta de dos libranzas que tiene despachadas de mill y trezientos escudos y lo demas hasta el entero cumplimiento de los referidos derechos a quenta de sus sueldos vencidos, y que por lo que mira a los trezientos ducados de Lanzas, que paga todos los años como Conde del Peñon de la Vega, podria V. M. servirse de mandar assi mismo se le exima de ellos, por su vida u á lo menos por todo el tiempo que continuare el Real servicio esperando el Elector de la Justificazion de V. M. y de la expezialidad con que V. M. se ha dignado atender á sus suplicas, se ha de servir de conzeder á su contemplazion al Prinzipe una y otra grazia, por los motivos y razones expresadas. Tubosse presente que es contra las reglas de la media annata y contra repetidas ordenes el admitir resquentro en satisfazion de ella, y que por lo que toca á los derechos del titulo de Prinzipe, es tambien contra ordenes y en perjuizio de los que tienen asignazion sobre estos mismos derechos.—El Consejo respecto de pertenezzer á la Junta de Presidios lo que mira á la paga de Lanzas, es de parezer que V. M. podra servirse mandar que informe lo que se la ofreziere, sobre lo que en esta parte, representa el Elector, y que se execute lo mismo, de que informe el Consejo de Italia, en lo que mira a la forma en que propone la satisfazion de derechos y media annata por el titulo de Principe por correr su despacho, por aquel Tribunal, y si despues remitiere Vuestra Magestad a este Consejo, uno y otro, dirá lo que le pareciere en ello.—Vuestra Magestad mandara lo que fuere servido.—Madrid 18 de Marzo 1706.—Hay dos rúbricas.

(C)

Sicilia. A 1º de Abril de 1706. — A en 26 de Marzo. —

El Consejo de Italia satisfaciendo a Decreto de V. M. con carta del Duque de Baviera, sobre que al Marques de Cropani se le reciva en quenta de unas libranzas, y sueldos vencidos, los derechos de media annata, y otros que deve por la merced del Titulo de Principe que se la ha dado en Sicilia y libre de la paga de Lanzas que por el de Conde del Peñon deve en Castilla. Representa lo que se le ofrece. — Hay dos rúbricas.

Señor.—En Decreto de 25 del pasado manda Vuestra Magestad al Consejo consulte lo que se le ofreziere y pareciere sobre la carta que incluye del Elector Duque de Baviera su data de 25 de Diciembre del año pasado, en que representa que constandole de los sueldos vencidos que hace a la Real hacienda el Marques de Cropani Governador de Charleroy (que llama Principe de Veintimillas) y de lo mal parada que se halla su hacienda, en el Andalucia por consistir en Juros y Alcanalas quando por Conde del Peñon de la Vega, paga 300 ducados de Lanzas; I que pidiendole ahora por los derechos de media annata por el tal titulo de Principe 5080 reales de plata sin otros tres mil por la dispensacion de feudo; considerando no se halla el Ynteresado con forma de satisfacer estos sumas espezialmente en tiempo de guerra en que hace los gastos que corresponden a su grado y donde los pagamentos son tan irregulares; Propone á Vuestra Magestad el Elector, que estos derechos se le desquenten de dos libranzas con que se halla de 1300 escudos y lo que en ellas no quepa reciva en sueldos vencidos. Y por lo que toca á los

300 ducados de Lanzas que deve como Conde del Peñon que se le exima durante su vida de la paga de ellos o a lo menos por el tiempo que sirviere; esperando condescienda Vuestra Magestad en una y otra suplica en favor del Interesado. — A Consulta de este Consejo de 11 de Septiembre del año passado sobre interposicion del mismo Elector e Informe del Virrey Cardenal Judice, que se le pidió por la via de Estado, concedio Vuestra Magestad al Marques de Cropani en atencion a su notoria calidad por ser de los Ventimillas de Sicilia, y buenos servicios executados en Flandes y Cathaluña titulo de Principe en aquel Reyno con la circunstancia de apoyarle en uno de los feudos de Santo Mauro, ó Pollina (que son del Marques de Irache el qual para este fin le hacia donacion) por tener inconveniente el darsele con el nombre de Veintemillas por ser este de los Primogenitos de los Condes de Recalmuto, ni menos sobre la tierra de Mili por pertenecer por compra a la Marquessa su muger y deversela mantener la exemption de este Titulo durante su Matrimonio. — El Consejo vista ahora la instancia del Interesado por medio de la interposicion del Elector, Dice que en lo que mira al punto de los 3 mil reales de plata que deve pagar por la dispensacion del feudo rustico que es el que toca a este Consejo podra Vuestra Magestad (si fuere servido) condescender en la propuesta de que se le carguen en cuenta de las libranzas que se enuncia tiene; Pero en lo demas tocante solamente a lo que importare la media annata, y las Lanzas por el titulo de Conde del Peñon en Castilla; no siendo de su inspeccion; es de parecer puede Vuestra Magestad mandar remitir estos dos puntos a las partes a quienes privativamente pertenecen a fin que por aquellas vias tome Vuestra Magestad la resolucion que fuere servido. En Madrid a 1.º de Abril de 1706. — Hay nueve rúbricas y al margen izquierdo del principio de este documento, los nombres siguientes. Marques de Manzera. Marques de la Rossa. Don Pedro Guerrero. Don Antonio Jurado. Don Pedro Rubin. Don Ignacio de Zarate. Don Juan Antonio Yopulo. Conde de San Roman. Don Domingo Capichelatro.

(D)

Portici 22 de Octubre de 1743

Marques de Salas.

Excmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mio; Recurriendo á essa Corte el Principe de Belmonte Siciliano en solicitud de la Grandeza de España, lo que egecuta con permiso del Rey mi amo, y por medio de V. E. segun me insinua, incluyendole su instancia á Su Magestad Catolica me ha pedido, que al mismo tiempo la acompañe con mis oficios á V. E. á lo que no me he podido escusar así por el merito personal de este Cavallero, y de su familia, que es de las mas ilustres, y aficionadas á ambas Coronas, como por el honor que tiene de Gentilhombre de Camara de Su Magestad Siciliana, por lo que suplico á V. E. se sirva hacer presente al Rey nuestro señor la pretension del referido Cavallero y apoyarla con aquellas insinuaciones, y arbitrios que le sea permitido; pues á mas de que el sujeto es digno de toda atencion, espero merecera la de V. E. y su proteccion por mi influxo, á que quedaré reconocido, y deseo siempre del favor á las especiales ordenes de V. E. en que pueda acreditarle mi agradecimiento, quedo á su obediencia con todo obsequio. Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años que puede; Portici 22 de Octubre 1743. — Excmo. Sr. — B. I. m. de V. E. su mayor servidor. — El Marques de Salas. — Rubrica. — Señor Marques de Villarias.

V. E. se hará cargo de que el Rey no puede negarse á dar estas recomendaciones, quando se las piden vasallos tan calificados y benemeritos; pero al mismo tiempo manifestó á V. E. que su Magestad no tiene empeño y que basta que V. E. se sirva hacerme dos letras ostensibles de respuesta con que dar testimonio á este caballero de haverse pasado los oficios que deseaba.

(E)

(Is practically the same as document H; with verbal differences that make it look as if both were translated from the same [Ital.?] original.)

S. C. R. M.

Señor

Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia.

S. C. R. M.

El Conde Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia Principe de Belmonte Fidelissimo Vasallo del Rey de las Dos Sizilias, y su Gentilhombre de Camera en esercizio rendido con la mas devida rasignasion al Trono de V. S. C. R. M. Umilmente representa; que siendo Cavo de una de las antiguas y illustres familias del Reyno de Sizilia, que siempre con la mayor distinshon, y honor ha sido considerada de los Monarcas de España sus Predezesores; no solo por aver tenido en el primero de su origen con sanguinidad estrecha con Monarcas Nomnanni, Suevi, y Aragoneses, como y tambien por los Servicios relevantes prestados á su Real Corona en supremos grados Militares y Politicos de Capitanes Generales Camerlengos Ayos de Reales Infantes y Presidentes deste Reyno, que en todos tiempos han muchos de mis mayores con summo honor sostenido; y anhelando el suplicante como Primero Legitimo Heredero mantener el antiguo splendor de una familia tan distinta. Suplica rendidamente la Soberana Clemenza de V. S. C. R. M. conzederle la Grandia de España de Primera Classe al Exponente y sus suzesores, y a que conserbando á Imitasion de sus Mayores igual fedelidad espera con tal distinshon hazerze mas habil para sacrificarse á servir al Augustissimo Rey su hijo, y reluzerá siempre mas segnalada, y insigne la Soberana Munifizenza de V. S. C. R. M. honrando una familia tan devota, y fedel á Su Real Corona; y assegurandose una tal grazia, Le augura y ruega del Cielo con todo el Spirito la mayor felicidad, y aumento en beneficio de sus fidelissimos vasallos, y de todo el pueblo devoto al Glorioso nombre y de la Casa Real de V. S. C. R. Magestad.

(F)

Excmo. Señor.

Muy Señor mio; Es desmesiado bien manifesto que la benignidad de V. E. no es menos inferior á su grande authoridad, Por lo que conoziendo Que no puedo recurrir á mas seguro y mas authorevol patrozinio lo executo á mi particular Gloria, ya que he resuelto de suplicar rendidamente á su Magestad Catolica se dignasse conzeder á mi y á mis Suzesores la Grandia de España de Primera Classe; y habiendo manifestado este mi añelo al Rey de las Dos Sizilias mi señor, para hoir sus soberanos Oraculos, que no solo hé quedado certiorado de su Real animo, sino tambien se ha dignado con una benignidad incomparable avalorar mi pretension con su Real Carta para el Augustissimo Rey su Padre y señor, cuya creyo que sea pervenido en essa Real Corte motivo

que imploro con todo mi espirito a la inmensa bondad de Vuestra Excelencia a fin que se benignasse umiliar á Su Magestad Catolica que Dios Guarde la adjunta suplica, y promoverla con la authorevol eficaz de su poderoso patrozinio; en ella conozerá V. E. los Justos motivos que me mueven á desear una tal distincion; no solo por ser Cavo de un Parentasco tan singular y de los primeros deste reyno, sino tambien para conserval el Splendor dello, y abrirme el camino al mayor servizio de mi rey y señor y hazerme de un todo no dissigual de mis Progenitores, cuyos siempre fidelissimos á sus Monarcas han sostenido con dignidad los supremos cargos Militares y Politicos, como copiosas claramente lo prescriben las Historias de todos los tiempos y confiando que la Soverana Clemenza de Su Magestad Católica teniendo benigno miramiento á la fedelidad, y á los relevantes servicios de mis mayores se dignara onrar con tal merced mi familia, y servir este por exemplar de su generosa, y real munificenza, espero conseguir una tal grazia Favor el benigno y alto patrozinio de Vuestra Excelencia Cuya Generosa bondad unicamente suplico, y sea seguro que dispensa V. E. sus favores, á quien altamente los reconoze, y aprecia tanto, que conservará al Excelsa su protezion eternas obligaciones al mayor servicio de V. E. á quien sollizitando sus venerados preceptos para ravalidar en excusion de ellos mi pronta y ciega obediencia á su generosa disposicion Ruego á la Divina Guarde la Excelentisima Persona de V. E. los Largos y Felizes años que sollizito Palermo y octubre 4 de 1743.—Excmo. Señor.—B. l. m. de V. E. Su mas attento y reconozido servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte.—Excmo. Sr. Marqués de Villarias.

(G)

Napoles Año de 1743.

Grandeza

El Marques de tripuzi

El Principe de Belmonte.

Señor.

Don Joseph de Aquaviva y Aragon Marques de Tripuzi: Coronel del Regimiento de Infantería de Napoles.

Señor.

Don Joseph de Aquaviva, y Aragon Marques de Tripuzi, Coronel del regimiento de Infantería de Napoles: puesto á los Reales Pies de V. M. dize como de algunos años á esta parte se halla haver heredado la Cassa Tripuzi; á la qual viviendo su Antecesor concedió el Emperador, la Grandeza, para su Persona y Cassa: Cuios honores ha gozado en el Reino de Napoles hassta que duro estar devajo de el Dominio Aleman; y aunque con la Entrada de las Gloriosas Armas de V. M. en aquel Reyno para su restauracion se publicó Edietto confirmando en nombre de V. M. y del Rey su Hijo todos los Privilegios del Reyno, y sus Individuos: no obstantte deseoso el Suplicante no tener en su casa Gracia que no sea concedida, de la Real Piedad de V. M. ya que ha optenido la de ser admitido en su Real servicio: para poder continuar con mayor lustre en sacrificar su vida en el; y ya por haver sido el primero de su Clase y de su tierra que despues de haver entrado en ella, las Gloriosas Armas de V. M. ha tenido la especial honora de besar su Real Mano.—Supplica humildemente á V. M. se sirva concederle la Gracia de la Grandeza para su Persona y Cassa; para poder continuar en tener, las mismas distinciones, que ha tenido antes de entrar en el Real servicio de V. M. merced que espera de su Real Piedad.

Don Joseph de Acquaviva y Aragon Marques de Tripuzi dice ha heredado la casa Tripuzi, á la qual, viviendo su antecesor, concedio el Emperador la Grandeza para su persona y casa, cuios honores ha gozado en el Reyno de Napoles, durante el Dominio Aleman, y supplica á V. M. se sirva concederle la gracia de la referida Grandeza para su Persona y Casa.

En consideracion á la Illustre calidad y buenos servicios de Don Joseph de Aquaviva y Aragon Marques de Tripuzi Gentilhombre de Camara del Rey de las Dos Sizilias mi Hijo, Brigadier de mis exerzitos y Coronel de Regimiento de Infanteria de Napoles he venido en hacerle merced de la Grandeza de España de primera clase para su persona, sus herederos y sucesores. Tendrase entendido en la Camara para darle los despachos correspondientes a esta grazia.

Excmo. Señor.

El Rey se ha dignado conceder á Don Joseph de Aquaviva y Aragon Marques de Tripuzi Gentilhombre de Camara del Rey de las dos sizilias Brigadier de los exercitos de S. M. y Coronel del Regimiento de Infanteria de Napoles la merced de Grande de primera clase para si, sus herederos y sucesores, en atencion á sus servicios merito y el distinguido lustre de su familia y lo participo a V. E. de orden de S. M. para que por la Secretaria de gracia y justicia donde toca, se expida el Decreto correspondiente al cumplimiento de esta merced. Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años como deseo. El Pardo 24 de Enero de 1743.—Joseph del Campillo.—Rubrica.—Señor Marques de Villarias.

Fecho en 25 de Enero de 1743.

(H)

(See remarks on E.)

S. C. R. M.

Señor

El Conde Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia Principe de Belmonte Gentilhombre de Camera de Su Magestad Siciliana y Pretor de la Ciudad de Palermo.

S. C. R. M.

El Conde Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia Principe de Belmonte fidelissimo Vassallo del Rey de las Dos Sizilias, y su Gentilhombre de Camera con Exerzizio puesto con suma resignasion al Throno de Vuestra Catolica Real Magestad rendidamente representa; que siendo Cavo de una de las mas antiguas familias y de las mas Illustres del Reyno de Sizilia, y siempre con la mayor distinzion, y honor considerada de todos los Monarcas de España sus Predecessores, no menos por aver sido en su primera Origen Parentada strechamente de sangre con Soberanos Normannos Suevos y Aragoneses como y tambien por los servicios relevantes esmerados a su Real Corona en supremos grados Militares y Politicos de Capitanes Generales, Camerlengos, Tutores de Principes Reales y Presidentes de este Reyno que en todos tiempos han muchos de sus mayores con sumo splendor mantenido, y deseando el suplicante como primero Legitimo Heredero conservar el antiguo Lustre de un Parentasco tan segnalado; supplica con mayor obsequio la Soberena Clemenza de Vuestra Catolica Real Magestad concederle la Grandeza de España de Primera Clase para si y sus suzores la que preservando á Imitasion de

sus Mayores igual fidelidad sospira á tal distincion por segnalarse siempre mas en la Veneracion con el Augusto Rey su hijo, a quien aviendo servido con infinito obsequio y fidelidad en el grado de Capitan Justiziero con gastos ingentisimos ha venido aora en las presentes Emergencias del Contagio Messiner y en las Funestissimas Consequentias que de un tal mal pueden todavia temerze á nombrarme Pretor de esta Capital, y Cavo de la General Deputasion de Sanidad por todo el Reyno la Soberana Beneficenza de V. S. C. R. M. honorando el Exponente constituido en tal grado, y en el Suplicante una familia tan devota y tan fedel a su Real Corona, y siguro de conseguir la grazia que sollizita, Ruega el suplicante á Su Divina Magestad con todo el expirito la mayor felicidad, y aumento en Beneficio de sus Fidelissimos Vasallos y demas pueblos Devotos a su Gloriozo nombre y de la Real Casa de V. S. C. R. M.

(I)

Palermo 8 de Mayo de 1744.
El Principe de Belmonte Grandeza.

Excmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mio; Aunque sea mas que seguro, Favor la incomparable bondad de Vuestra Excelencia que en la primera oportunidad se dignara generosamente favorezme con hazerme presente á la Soberana Magestad del Rey Catolico mis obsequiosas supplcas para obtener la Grandia de España de Primera Classe no solo en considerasion de ser Cavo, y primero Legitimo Heredero de una familia no tan desconozida, y immeritevol de un tal grado y por los servizios relevantes esmerados de mis Progenitores á la Real Corona de España; con cuya en su primera origen fue unida con stretcho grado de Parentasco, como no he podido omittir de rapresentar en mi reverente supplica, y aun mas por el excelso avaloramiento desta mi pretension de la benigna Clemenza del Rey mi Señor con carta enviada al Augusto Rey su Padre, si como el todo á Vuestra Excelencia es bien manifesto, motivos son estos, que me hazen attender fuera de toda dificultad con mayor seguridad y premura la Grazia, con todo esso el ser Estado promovido del Rey mi Señor al grado de Pretor en esta Capital en las presentes calamidades del contagio Messiner, no aun calmado, y en las funestissimas consequencias que de un si orrible mal sin duda deven temerze; grado que me constituye Cavo de la General Deputasion de Sanidad de todo el Reyno; Esta mi no Esperada promosion; si como me ha presentado la ocasion mas segnalada y admirable de sacrificarme al Real servicio del Rey mi Señor en el Gobierno dificultoso deste Publico, assi me da un nuevo estimolo de umiliar á la Real munificenza de Su Magestad Catolica la adjunta sollizitud, y replicar á Vuestra Excelencia las mas devotas fervorosas premuras, á fin que se sirve dignarse con su authorevol patrozinio promoverme la consecucion de la Gracia, cuya siendo en todos tiempos libera, no se attienda vacansas por poder una tal distincion no solo avalorar el animo mio por un Gobierno en los presentes tiempos de tanto pezo si por los incessantes trabajos, como por los necesarios gastos exorbitantes, sino para resplandezer mayormente la Real munificenza de Su Magestad Catolica en esta Capital y á todo el Reyno que tendra á proprio honor, y rezivira en segno de particular afeccion la Grazia hallandome Pretor en las presentes circunstansias que resultaran mas fortunada, y mas admirable la Gloria que sollizito, á solo fin de hazer reluzir en mi mismo todo el obsequio y fidelidad de mis mayores; y segun de la Generosa humanidad de Vuestra Excelencia igualmente que de la Real Clemenza de Su Magestad Catolica á quien

humiliando mi infinita veneracion ratifico mi ciega y pronta obediencia al mayor servicio de Vuestra Excelencia. cuya Excelentissima Persona ruego á la Divina guarde los largos años que puede. Palermo y Mayo 8 de 1774. Excmo. Señor.—Besa la mano de V. E. su mayor y reconozido servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte.—Excmo. Señor. Marques de Villarias.

(J)

Excmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mio; sin de quando me consideré promovido de la soberana Clemenza del Rey mi señor al Importantísimo Grado de Pretor desta Capital en las relevantísimas Circunstancias del Contagio Meizner no aun calmado, y de las funestísimas consecuencias que lo seguyan; exzité mis fervorosas instancias y ruegos á V. E. por la manifiesta mi pretension a la Grandia de España de Primera Classe, y adjunta entonzes remiti baxo el autho revol, y generoso su patrozínio mi reverente suplica por umiliarla al Real Trono de S. M. C. y aunque de la Eximia humanidad de V. E. no huviesse tenido como deseava algun fundamento de Esperanza para obtener Quanto antes una tal Grazia; y por si acaso la dicha se fuesse desizado, Por cuyo motivo me veo impulso aora a replicar ardentamente mis instancias, y ardientes Suplicas, y a que un nuevo y summo pezo se á ajuntado al presente cargo de Pretor, mientes no solo como Cavo de la General: Deputasion de salud devo aplicarme con todo Estudio por la Conservasion del Reyno en las Emergencias de la Peste, sino como Cavo desta Capital, y prinzipal Deputado deste Reyno devo tambien Estudiarne con todo diligencia para sostener con Quietud en las presentes circunstancias de la Guerra. Ciertamente yo me ratifico muy mucho reconozida a la soberana benignidad de mi Rey y Señor en averme apoyado tal empleo en estas tan torbolentas emergencias, en las Quales era conveniente darlo á sugeto de experimentada probidad y prudenzia el mas amorevel, el mas fedel, y mas zelante por la Real Corona como siempre han praticado los soberanos sus Predecessores; Por lo que por corresponder al altissima obligazion de mi fidelidad, y de mi amor, abandonando los graves negocios de mi casa; me á convenido con ingentísimos gastos, y con indizibles trabajos, curas y diligenzias sacrificarme tanto de noche, como de dia por conservar como a punto merevillosamente me á suzedido, La salud, y la Quietud desta Capital, y de todo el Reyno; No se admire V. E. si con el mayor de mi spirito me veo movido á aspirar en premio á la Grandia de España de primera clase si largamente, y con tanto anhelo de mi deseada, y por Cuya antes de las presentes Circunstancias, La soberana Clemenza de mi Rey y señor me á avalorado con Cartas de empeño para el Augustísimo Rey su señor Padre; Las que hago memoria á V. E. por assegurar la que el Clementísimo animo de S. M. C. no podria con munifizenza mas generosa, y en ocasion mas oportuna honorarme con una grazia, que no solo saria á mi de summo aprecio y avaloramiento en las presentes ocasiones, sino resultaria en summo aplauso, y Gloria de toda esta capital en ver premiado de S. M. C. el Pretor de Palermo, que siempre ha estado considerado del Pueblo como Padre.

Por esso en semejantes, pero no ya en tan graves y considerables tiempos el Defunto Principe de Palagonia gozo la Grandia, y el ser Cavallero del Insigne orden del Toyson de oro, como y tambien el Conde de San Marcos obtuvo la misma Grandia de Primera Clase, la consiguio el Principe de Resutana, y el tratamiento el de la Cattolica hallandose todos en el grado de Pretor, en cuyo si estos señores aquistaron el merito de pretenderla con

mayor esfuerzo de ellos, he trabajado, y desempeñado mi obligazion, Por lo que me pareceria una falta si se me quitasse el merito de aspirar con Justizia á tal Grazia Personal á V. E. si con mas ardor pretendo tambien Yo una tal distinzion de onor, Ya que ninguno jamas se ha encontrado en ocasiones mas considerables, y de mayor pezo, I aunque Yo no haya elegido estos exemplares para avalorar mi pretension, si solo para obtenerla en el grado de ser Pretor; en Cuyo resultaria de mayor mi estimasion; porque conseguida en premio de mis servicios; Con todo sea Cierta, que si como esta Grazia la espero del Clementisimo y Beneficentisimo animo del Augustissimo Rey Cattolico con el authorevol, y generoso patrozinio de V. E. es el mayor fundamento de mi esperanza; en cuyo altamente confio que quanto antes sea por conseguirla ya que por estas promociones no se attienda vacanzias de Grandes; Por cuyo motivo la sospiro con solizitud á fin que puede con este Insigne de onor, mayormente emplearme al Real servicio de mi Rey y señor; y hazer conozer quanto remunera este servizío el Augustissimo Rey su señor Padre, y quanto en el solo patrozinio de V. E. tengo bien fundado mi esperanza; I rassignandole mi Ciega y pronta obediencia al servizío de V. E.

Ruego á la Divina Guarde su Excelentissima Persona los Largos y dilatados años que puede Palermo y Agosto 28 de 1774.—Excelentissimo Señor.—Besa la mano de V. E. su mas reconocido servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte.—Excmo. señor. Marques de Villarias.

(K)

Palermo 1745
El Principe de Belmonte
Pretendiendo la Grandeza de 1^a Clase.
Excmo. Señor.

Muy Señor mio: Pervenido yá al fin de mi Pretura en esta capital, Despues de averme sacrificado al Real servizío de mi Rey y señor; me se presente la mas apreziabile oportunidad de renovar á Vuestra Excelencia mi devido obsequio, y de representarle reverentemente que por las indizibles curas, diligencias y trabajos con summo studio, y vigilancia esmerados, y por la expension de gastos ingentisimos de mi echos en mi gobierno en los frangestes perniciosissimos de la Guerra, y del Contagio mesiner me a salido (por Divino Favor) de conservar inalterable al mas alto segno la tranquilidad desta Capital y librar todo este Reino perfectamente del sospecho de tan funesto contagio que le a molestad; Y si como de todas las haziones exteras á estado encomiada con summo aplauso I regosijo la prudente fortunada conducta deste Senado; y he tenido tambien la dicha de merezer de la soverana clemenza de mi Rey y señor el mas señalado Real agradecimiento, assi anehelo que el Augustisimo Rey Catolico se digne de rimirar con soverana generosa benignidad el Integro sacrificio de mi mismo consagrado con tal feliz exito en beneficio deste Reyno, y en profundo attestado de rendimiento, y de Fidelidad al amabilisimo mi Monarca su digno Augusto hijo; motivo que no encuentro mas noble y mas propizia ocasion de ravivar á Vuestra Excelencia mis reverentes suplicas por obtener la bien nota; y por si gran tiempo de mi deseada Grazia de la Grandeza de España de Primera Classe; ya que á los distinctos servizios prestados de mis progenitores á la Real Corona de España que deven ser desmesiado claros y manifestos á qualquiera que tenga notizia de mi no ignorada familia de cuya soy Cavo; me parece que aumentar puede pezo mas relevente á mi pretension el mio qualquier

obsequio en la Considerasion de la generosa munifizenza del Rey Catolico, y que por miramientos de no mayor importancia á onrrado con semejantes gracias el Conde de San Marcos, el Principe de Rusutana y el de Palagonia como y tambien el de Rocafiorida, y ultimamente el Principe de la Catolica como otras veces he manifestado á V. E. I esperando aora con la mayor seguridad pervenir al ultimo de mi deseo, merzed el autho revolissimo su patrozinio.

Suplico en tanto reverentamente; y con la mayor certitud confio, que me hara presente á la Magestad del Rey Catolico no solo los meritos de mis mayores, la distinsion de mi familia, de quien soy Cavo, y los mios, sino tambien las replicadas premorosas cartas á mi favor de mi Rey y Señor, para S. M. C. á V. E. bien manifestas las que protegerá con su alto poderoso amparo, Ya que todas estas considerables circunstancias auvaloradas de su excelsa bondad; no me hazen dudar de obtener la sospirada Grazia, con esta cierta fianza, ratifico á V. E. mi devido rendimiento, las signando á sus venerados preceptos mi ciega y pronta obediencia á su servizio.

Cuya Excelentisima Persona de V. E. Ruego á la divina le guarde los dilatados años que puede. Palermo y Mayo 7 de 1745.—Excmo. Señor.—B. L. m. de V. E.—Su mayor y reconocido servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte.—Excmo. Sr. Marques de Villarias.

(L)

Memorial que presenta á los pies del Rey nuestro Señor el Principe de Belmonte Ventimilla.

Señor.

El Principe de Belmonte Ventimilla Gentilhombre de Camara con exercicio del Rey de las dos Sicilias vuestro amado hijo recurre á la clemencia de Vuestra Magestad deseoso de conseguir la Grandeza de España de primera classe para si, y para sus Descendientes. Los motivos que pueden conciliarle esta Grazia, ninguno mas bien que V. M. puede valuarlos, haviendose empleado en su Real servicio todo el tiempo de su glorioso Reinado. Ha exercido los empleos de Deputado del Reino de Sicilia: de Pretor de la Ciudad de Palermo: de Cabo del supremo Magistrado de la salud en las funestas circunstancias de la Peste de Messina, y de la Guerra de Veletri. Obtuvo en el 1743 de V. M. el permiso de solicitar esta Grazia en la Corte de Madrid, y V. M. por un efecto de su benevolencia quiso honrarle con su recomendacion; pero la intempestiva muerte de su Augustisimo glorioso Padre dexo sin efecto alguno la esperanza, que justamente habia concebido de obtenerla. Renace esta mas viva en el animo del suplicante ahora, que pende enteramente conseguirla de la voluntad de V. M. mayormente quando los nuevos servicios ultimamente prestados en la Embajada de Venezia alientan el temor, y la consideracion de no haberla aun merecido como desea.—El Principe de Belmonte Ventimilla.

(M)

Caserta 7 de Mayo de 1765.
El Principe de Belmonte Vintimilla.

Excmo. Señor.

Mui Señor mio. Hallandome todavia sin los apetecibles rescuentros de V. E. á la otra que en fecha de 26 del passado mes de Febrero le adelanté, reverentemente incluyendo otra Suplica para S. M. del tenor de la adjunta: dudando Yo de extravio,

recurso de nuevo á la bondad de V. E. para que me haga la honra de presentarsela. Solicito la Grazia de la Grandeza de España de primera classe para mi y para mis descendientes. Me animan á esta pretension mis servicios que S. M. no ignora. Me encuentro de Gentilhombre de Camara de ejercicio. Fui antiguamente Deputado del Reino de Sicilia, Pretor de la ciudad de Palermo, y Cabo del Supremo Magistrado de la salud en las criticas coyunturas de la Peste de Messina, y de la Guerra de Velettri: y en estos ultimos años fui destinado Embajador extraordinario á la Republica de Venezia. Entablé esta pretension en el 1743. El Rey nuestro señor entonces no solo me acordó el permiso de acudir á su augustísimo Padre Phelipe V. de gloriosa memoria, sino que me honró con su recomendacion: y esto viene authenticado de las copias que remito á V. E. Tuve justo motivo entonces de esperar el mas favorable suceso: pero medió el fallecimiento de aquel Monarca. Ahora que el Rey su hijo se halla felizmente en el Trono de essa Monarchia: Vuelvo á recordar á S. M. mis deseos, ya que pende enteramente el conseguir dicha grazia de su Real voluntad, y clemencia, mayormente quando tantas vezes he logrado testimonios nada equívocos de su gratitud, y benevolencia.—Me lisonjeo pues que Vuestra Excelencia favorezca esta mi súplica con su autorizado Patrocinio, y que merezca Yo el placer de emplearme en su mayor servicio.

Nuestro Señor guarde á V. E. los muchos años que deseo. Caserta 7 de Mayo de 1765.—B. I. m. de V. E. su mayor y mas atento servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte Ventimilla.—Exc^{mo}. Sr. Marqués de Grimaldi.

(N)

Copia. Haviendo hecho presente al Rey la carta de V. S. de 13 del corriente en que solicita su real permiso para pretender en la Corte de España la Grandeza de 1^a Classe, y en su apoyo la real recomendacion de Su Magestad para con su Augustísimo Padre: diré á V. S. en respuesta, que Su Magestad ha venido benignamente en una y otra instancia, en cuya consecuencia me ha mandado escribir en su real nombre al Señor Marques de Villarias á fin haga presente á Su Magestad Catholica dicho oficio, como lo executaré con el proximo venturo extraordinario del martes; y assi lo participo á V. S. para que dirija su instancia formal y requisitos por aquel canal; pudiendose V. S. valer en Madrid por Agente, de Don Fernando Espinosa de los Monteros, que es quien ha servido en semejantes pretensiones á los Principes de la Cattolica y Palagonia y estos Cavalleros podran instruir á V. S. de lo demás que desee saber para su gobierno: Esto es quanto en mi particular puedo insinuar á V. S., asegurando le he servido con todo gusto en quanto me ha sido permitido, y deseo á V. S. el logro de esta, y otras satisfacciones, á que contribuiré siempre con buena voluntad. Dios guarde etc. Portici 21 de Septiembre 1743.—El Marqués de Salas.—Señor Principe de Belmonte.

Otra. Señor mio. He recibido con todo aprecio la carta de V. S. de 4 de Octubre con que acompaña un memorial para que haga presente al Rey mi Amo. En el mismo Correo me escribe el Señor Marqués de Salas de orden del Rey de las dos Sicilias recomendando la instancia de V. S. Procuraré hacerla presente á Su Magestad con el apoyo de tan autorizado Patrocinio en la primera oportuna ocasion, deseo de que V. S. consiga lo que pretendo, y ofreciendo á su disposicion mi obediencia deseo guarde Dios etc.—San Lorenzo el Real 19 de Noviembre de 1743.—B. I. m. de V. S. su mayor servidor.—El Marqués de Villaria.—El Principe de Belmonte.

Otra. Excmo. Señor.—Muy Señor mio.—He recibido la carta de V. E. de 6 del corriente con la que me incluía para el Señor Marqués de Villarias, á quien la remiti: y al tiempo mismo que doi á V. E. en respuesta este aviso de haberle servido, le acompaño copia de la respuesta que sobre la pretension de V. E. me ha dado dicho Señor Marqués por la que reconocera V. E. los efectos de la recomendacion que se le hizo por V. E. á quien deseo toda satisfaccion y contribuir á ella en lo demás que V. E. me mande. Dios guarde etc.—Napoles 14 Dxbre. 1743.—Excmo. Señor.—B. l. m. de V. E. etc. El Marqués de Salas.—Señor Principe de Belmonte.

Otra. Muy Señor mio.—En una de las cartas de Vuestra Excelencia de 22 de Octubre se sirve recomendar de orden de Su Magestad Siciliana la instancia que por el mismo correo hace al Rey el Principe de Belmonte: quedo con el cuidado de hacer presente á Su Magestad al mismo tiempo que el Memorial la autorizada recomendacion de esse Soberano y de poner en noticia de V. E. sus resultados. Repitome á la disposicion de V. E. etc. San Lorenzo el Real 19 de Noviembre 1743.—B. l. m. etc.—El Marqués de Villarias. Señor Marques de Salas.

Corresponden estas copias á los originales que he restituido, de que certifico como Secretario de Su Magestad. Caserta 3 de Mayo de 1765.—Thomas Perez.—Rúbrica,

(O)

Aranjuez 28 de Mayo de 1765.
El Principe Belmonte Vintimiglia.

Excmo. Sr.

Quando recibí la de V. E. de 26 de febrero hice presente al Rey el Memorial que me incluía solicitando que S. M. se digne concederle la Grandeza de España: y yo mismo he executado ahora con el que V. E. me remite en su carta de 7 de este. No ha resuelto S. M. todavía las gracias que tiene animo de hacer con motivo del matrimonio de Principe. En llegando este caso volveré á hacerle presente la solicitud de V. E. y celebraré ser instrumento para que S. M. atienda el mérito y distinguidas circunstancias de la persona y casa de V. E.

Dios guarde etc.

(P)

Señor.

Joseph Manuel Vintimiglia Principe de Belmonte á los Reales pies de Vuestra Magestad Catolica.

Suplica.

Señor.

Joseph Manuel Vintimiglia Principe de Belmonte, prostrado á los Reales pies de V. M. con la mayor veneracion le renueva la memoria de sus leales servicios prestados en todo el tiempo que V. M. felicitó estos Reinos: por lo que se dignó benignamente recomendarlo, desde el año 1743, á su Augustísimo Padre, de gloriosa memoria para el logro de la Grandeza de España de Primera Classe para si y sus successores; segun consta por las adjuntas cartas authenticadas que reverente presenta: I sin duda la havría conseguido mediante la autorizada Real interposicion de V. M. sino huviesse poco despues passado el dicho Clementísimo Monarca á la gloriosa eternidad.—I como actualmente está exerciendo en servicio de este Soberano su Amo, Hijo amadisimo de V. M.

el Empleo de su Mayordomo mayor: le ha acordado benignamente el permiso para renovar la suplica á V. M. á fin que le conceda piadosamente la tan suspirada Grazia de la Grandeza de España de primera Classe, segun la estan gozando los Mayordomos Mayores jubilados de este Rey, y los dos Caballerizos mayores, y otros en esta Corte. Por lo que.—Suplica rendidamente á V. M. dignasse de acordarle la referida tan suspirada Grazia, para que se verifique ya, despues de tan dilatado discurso, aquella misma benigna intencion que tuvo V. M. mediando con el Augustissimo su Padre y continuar pueda acreditar su zelo, amor y fidelidad, y dexar assimismo á su familia esta memoria, y distinto honor, que espera de su Soberana Clemencia etc.—Joseph Manuel Ventimilia.

(Q)

Portici 23 de Mayo de 1769.

El Principe de Belmonte

Solicitando la Grandeza.

Dentro la respuesta que se le dió en 12 de Junio.

Exc^{mo}. Señor.

Mui Sr. mio. Habiendose dignado el Rey mi amo acordarme el permiso para nuevamente suplicar á la Magestad Catolica del Rey nuestro Señor, á fin que por su Soberana Clemencia se dignase concederme la tan deseada Grazia de la Grandeza de España de primera Classe para mi y mis successores, segun en esta Corte la estan gozando los Mayordomos mayores del Rey jubilados, y los Caballerizos mayores actuales, y otros en ella; Renuevo á V. E. mis fervorosas suplicas á fin de que tenga á bien de presentar humildemente en mi nombre á S. M. Catolica nuestro Señor este anexo reverente Memorial con la copia authentica de las Cartas relativas á la recomendacion que S. M. misma desde el año 1743 se dignó hacer á mi favor á su Augustissimo Padre de gloriosa memoria, y de avalorar V. S. con sus autorizados oficios esta Suplica; esperando Yo de la Real benignidad de S. M. nuestro Señor me la acordará finalmente, aun para mi consuelo en esta mi avanzada edad, y memoria á mi Posteridad.—El Señor Principe de la Catolica mi amado Sobrino presentará á V. E. estas mis referidas suplicas, acompañándolas con sus eficaces afectuosos oficios.—Repítome con el mayor respeto á las ordenes de V. E. y ruego á Dios guarde su vida los muchos años que puede, y deseo. Portici 23 de Mayo de 1769.—Exc^{mo}. Señor.—B. I. m. de V. E. su mayor y mas rendido servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte.—Exc^{mo}. Sr. Marques de Grimaldi.

(R)

Exc^{mo}. Sr.

Mui señor mio. He cumplido puntualmente el encargo que V. E. me hace de recordar al Rey su antigua pretension á la Grandeza de España, á cuyo fin puse en sus Reales manos el Memorial que V. E. me incluye: y habiendose servido S. M. decirme que en ocasion oportuna de hacer semejantes gracias tendria presente el mérito y distinguida calidad de V. E. logro el gusto de dar á V. E. una respuesta que le causará satisfaccion.—Me repito á las ordenes de V. E. y ruego á Dios etc.

(S)

Napoles 18 de Junio de 1771.

El Principe de Belmonte

Pretende la Grandeza.

Exc^{mo}. Señor.

Muy Señor mio. Me favorecio V. E. en 12 de Junio de 1769 de asegurarme, que el Rey nuestro Señor tendria presente mi suplica en ocasion oportuna, solicitando yo de Real clemencia la Grandeza de primera Classe para mi, y mis sucesores, por la qual ya desde el año 1743 se habia dignado Su Magestad misma de interponer sus favorables oficios con su augusto Padre Philipe V. de gloriosa memoria; y el Rey mi amo en dicho año de 1769 se digno tambien renovar estos mismos oficios á S. M. C. nuestro señor.

Se presentará en breve la mas plausible ocasion, que se pueda desear en el proximo Parto de la Señora Princesa, que todos anhelamos, y en este concepto suplico V. E. de acer presente á Su Magestad mi humilde solicitud, a fin que se digne finalmente de concederme esta suspirada gracia. Quedaré á V. E. infinitamente reconocido, come deseoso de emplearme siempre en su mayor obsequio, y ruego á Dios guarde á V. E. los muchos años que deseo. Napoles 18 de Junio de 1771.—Exc^{mo}. Señor.—B. l. m. de V. E. su mas atento y seguro servidor.—El Principe de Belmonte.—Exc^{mo}. Sr. Marqués de Grimaldi.

(T)

San Lorenzo 29 de Octubre de 1771.

Al Principe de Belmonte.

Dandole aviso de que el Rey le ha concedido la Grandeza.

Exc^{mo}. Señor.

My señor mio. En atencion á la antigua nobleza y lustre de la Casa de V. E. á los servicios de sus predecesores hechos á esta Monarquia, y á los que V. E. continua como Mayordomo mayor de S. M. Siciliana, ha venido el Rey en conceder á V. E. la Grandeza de España para si, sus hijos y sucesores, varones y hembras nacidos de lexítimo matrimonio: lo que participo á V. E. de orden de S. M. con mucho gusto mio para que pueda disponer se acuda á la Camara de Castilla á sacar el Diploma: y dando á V. E. repetidas enorabuenas por la alta distincion que ha debido á S. M. ruego á Dios le guarde etc.

(U)

Pro-Memoria

Per

Sua Ecc^{za} Sig^r Marchese
di Grimaldi Consig^{re} e Primo
Seg^{rio} di Stato di S. M. negli
affari esteri etc.

Eccellenza.

Avendo ricevuto particular commissione dal Sig^r Principe di Belmonte Ventimiglia da Napoli, che La Grandeza di Spagna ultimamente accordatagli dalla Maestá di questo Cattolico Monarca gli fosse concessa sopra il sequente titolo di Giuseppe Emmanuello Ventimiglia Principe di Belmonte, Conte, e Barone di Grattieri Vengo ad avanzare Le mie vive Suppliche all' E. V. perché si benignasse ordinare alla Real Camera di

Castiglia di spedirire il coerente Diploma a tenore del suennato titolo. Può L' E. V. esser sicura che uguali a quelli del Sig^r Principe Anzidetto Saranno gli obblighi infiniti che gliene conserveró. Mentre rinnovandole gli attestati del mio costante rispetto mi protesto.

Di Vostra Eccellenza
Madrid Li 26 Gen^{ro} 1772.
Div.^{mo} ed obl^{mo} serv^r.
il Duca di S^a Elisabetta.

(V)

El Pardo 29 de Enero de 1772.

A Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyeneche.

El Rey ha resuelto que en el titulo de Grandeza que S. M. tiene concedido al Principe de Belmonte, se le nombre Don Joseph Manuel Ventimiglia, Principe de Belmonte, Conde y Baron de Grattieri. Lo participo á V. S. para su cumplimiento y ruego á Dios etc.

(W)

Pro Memoria
Per
Sua Escellenza
Al Sig^r. Marchesse di Grimaldi
Consg^{re}. e Primo Seg^{rio} di Stato
di S. M. negli affari Stranieri etc.

Eccellenza.

Desiderando il Sig^r. Principe di Belmonte Ventimiglia che La Grandeza ultimamente concessali dalla Clemenza di questo Cattolico Monarca gli fosse accordata sopra la Contea, e Baronia di Grattieri peche il feudo piu antico di sua famiglia. Mi veggo nella precisa necessitá di nuovamente ricorrere all' E. V., onde si benignasse ottenergli dalla Maestá sua L' ordine necessario per la Real Camera di Castiglia affinché nella Spedizione del Diploma, ché dovrà fare la me desima; Fosse dichiarato che il mentovato Sig^r Principe si possa coprire come Conte di Grattieri, e che La Grandeza rimanga unita alla Suddetta Contea, e Baronia di Grattieri. E que protestando all' E. V. Le mie piú vive obbligazioni, mi confermo pieno del maggiore rispetto.

Di Vostra Eccellenza
Madrid Li 5 Feb^{ro} 1772.
Dev^{mo} ecl obl^{mo} sign^{re}
Il Duca di S^a Elisabetta.

(X)

El Pardo 7 de febrero 1772.

A Don Joseph Ignacio de Goyeneche

Grandeza.

Dixe á V. S. con fecha 29 del pasado haber resuelto el Rey, que en el titulo de la Grandeza que S. M. tiene concedido al Principe de Belmonte, se le nombre Don Joseph Maria Ventimiglia, Principe de Belmonte, Conde y Baron de Grattieri.—Despues ha suplicado á S. M. este Principe se sirva mandar que dicho titulo se expida apoyando la Grandeza al Condado y Baronia de Grattieri por ser el Feudo mas antiguo de su casa: y habiendo venido S. M. en ello; lo participo á V. S. de su Real orden para que disponga se execute asi y ruego á Dios guarde á V. S. muchos años.

(Y)

Caserta 3 de Diciembre 1776.

El Principe de Belmonte

Solicitando que el Rey haga de primera clase

la Grandeza que goza de segunda.

R^{da} en 24 como la minuta que va dentro.

Eccellenza.

Non vi tempo in cui non desideria a V. E. le púe distinta felicità a misura del suo sublime merito della infinita mia obligasioni, la vicina ricorrensa del santo Natale, mi obliga a rasignare all' E. V. il mio costante ossequio, e rinnovarle gli auguri di prosperità che sempre le bramo.

Spero che l' E. V. accolga gentilmente questo atto di mio preciso donere, e la suplico a degnarzi di baciare la mano a S. M. C. nostro signore in mio nome in questa circostanza, mi perunta l' E. V. che con tutto il fervore del mio spirito le rinnovi le mia suppliche, riguarda all antico mio desiderio del passaggio alla prima Classe, della Grandezza, che la naesta del Re nostro Clementissimo Signore si degno concedermi, e che V. E. con tanta bontà si compiacere sollecitarmi. Questa Grasia che io ardentemente desidero, e una conseguenza della concessami nella Grandezza, e servera per la suaro alla mia famiglia, un compito argomento della Reale munificenza del pictosissimo cuore di S. M. C. nostro Signore.—V. E. si degnó ottenermi la principali compisca per sua bontà il resto fia questi Grandi Napolitani e siciliani non vee nesono di seconda Classe e si naluta per minore questo onore che S. M. C. con tanta clemenza si degno concedermi La m^a sua si é degnata accordare questo passaggio della seconda alla prima Classe al marchese di Castromonte, senza aspeltare una jenerale promociione, Io desidero questo singolar favore dalla protezione de V. E. dalla quale hó ricesulto il principale ed il maggiore. Si degni V. E. dare compimento alla sua bontà per me, sollicitandomi dalla clemenza dalla M. S. questa Grazia sia persuasa che mi caggionera una sensibilissima consolazione. Più Memoriali l' E. V. conserva per farli presenti a la M^a Sua, onde io mi astengo di rimmetterglieni altri. Perdoni questo mio ardire ma ne incolpi la sua somma bontà dalla quale hó sperimentato sempre favore e con vero ossequio, e pieno di fiducia mi hó il vantaggio di raffermarmi de V. E.—Caserta 3 dicembre 1776.—deu^{mo}. ag^{mo}. servitore vero.—El Principe de belmonte.

(Z)

Madrid 24 de Diciembre de 1776.

Al Principe de Belmonte.

Ex^{mo}. Señor.

Mui señor mio. He leido al Rey la confidencial de V. E. de 3 de este, y manifestó S. M. en gratitud á las rendidas expresiones de V. E. con motivo de las proximas Pascuas. Por lo que toca á la solicitud de V. E. á que S. M. le conceda el pase de su Grandeza de la segunda á la primera clase, oyó S. M. con agrado lo que V. E. expone; pero manifestó que por ahora no juzga oportuno conceder este genero de gracias, reservandolas para cuando ocurra algun motivo de notable celebridad. He procurado por mi parte complacer á V. E. En todas distancias y ocasiones procuraré hacer lo mismo y me hallará V. E. pronto para servirle con el mayor afecto.

Dios guarde á V. E. etc.

APPENDIX IV

DON LORENZO FERNANDEZ DE CUENCA ANTOLINEZ Y TERUEL BIBLIOTECA NAÇIONAL

Mss. No. 55 (705)

Dn. Joseph Alfonso de Guerra y Villegas Chronista y Rey de Armas Principal y mas antiguo en estos nobles empleos de la Magestad Catholica de el Rey nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde) Dn. Phelipe 5º de este nombre Rey de las Españas, y Emperador del nuevo Mundo; En todos sus Reynos Señorios y Dominios, Y Chronista mayor de la Sacra Orden de San Juan y de las Militares, y Cavalleria de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcantara, Ayuda de la furrera de Camara y apaentador mayor de la Real Casa, Palacio de la Reyna nuestra Señora & Certificamos que por los Libros de Armeria, Copias de Linajes, historias nobiliarios, Libros de el Bezerro, y otros Papeles que originales tenemos en nuestro poder y Archivo de el cargo de estos oficios que Blasonan de las Illustres Casas Solares Infanzonados de Cavalleros nobles hijos dalgo de España. Parece y esta escrito en ellos los Patronimicos y apellidos de Sanchez (que oy es apellido de Cuenca) Fernandez, Cuenca, Antolinez, Teruel, Ruyz, Maldonado, Aldana, Herrera, Roxas, Ortiz, Urbina, que tocan y pertenezzen por la linea troncal y Paterna a D^ñ Lorenzo Fernandez de Cuenca Antolinez y Teruel orijinario de estas Casas y solares ynfanzonados. Natural de el Lugar de el Castellar de Santisteban obispado de Jaen. Y las de Belmonte, Roa, Ochoa, Montaraz, Antolinez, Teruel Fernandez y otras que son de la de sus abuelos. Y las de Gallego Aviles, Monrroy, y Segura que tocan a la descendencia de D^ñ Eufrasia Gallego, Aviles, Monrroy y Segura que son sus origenes y significados en la forma siguiente.

BELMONTE

El Chronista y grave historiador D^ñ Lazaro del Valle y de la Puerta, Duarte Nuñez de Leon, D^ñ Juan de Cueto y Tapia Rexidor Decano que fue de esta Villa, Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago, Grande y notable embestigador de Casas y Solares Ynfanzonados, y familias calificadas de estos Reynos que escribio en dos tomos, cuyos originales tenemos en nuestro poder, y entre los linajes que zelebra por sus meritos, sangre y antigüedad, es el del el apellido Belmonte Originario de Fornos, nobilissimo y antiguo (de quien trata) el Bezerro y nobleza Universal de Vaños. Y Argote de Molina en su Nobiliario de Andaluzia folio 148 buelta. Pone las mismas armas al linaje de Fornos sin mutazion alguna diseñadas de un escudo el campo azul con tres vandas rojas; en cuya considerazion van puestas antes de este apellido en el primero principal superior quartel. Siendo sus alusiones por el color azul de el campo, lo mismo que se dijo en el patronimico de Fernandez. Y las vandas en memoria de haver sido cavalleros de esta Orden los de esta familia la qual fundo el Señor Rey D^ñ Alonso el 11 en Burgos dandola á los mas

señalados, yllustres y generosos de su corte año de 1632 (?) en senal de accion de Guerra. Como lo trata Ocariz en su Nobiliario estan las armas de esta gran casa en el arco de Baeza. Y aunque Argote pone dos vandas no son sino tres como consta de muchos escriptores. Y aunque no han quedado descendientes de Dⁿ Miguel de Fornos por varon en aquel obispado, los ay de Gil de Fornos que se radicaron sus sucesores en tierra de Sevilla, por linea recta de donde provinieron los de Belmonte, cuyo apellido tubo su primer motibo en la poblacion de Belmonte que oy posee la Casa de los Condes de Pliego seys leguas de Cordova, siendo conquistada de los Moros en que se hallo un ynfanzon llamado Gil de Fornos quien dejo á sus descendientes este apellido y oy esta radicado en diferentes partes de Andaluzia, de cuya troncal dimanaron diferentes ramas. Y la que haze á esté asumpto y que perteneze al dicho Dⁿ Lorenzo es la que vino radicando de padres a hijos subcesivamente hasta Ynes de Belmonte Roa y Montaraz que nacio en el lugar de el Castellar y celebro sus bodas con Thoribio Fernandez de Cuenca Antolinez y Teruel, y durante su matrimonio hubieron por su hijo lexitimo el dicho Dⁿ Lorenzo Fernandez de Cuenca Antolinez y Teruel y aora concluda esta explicazion pasaremos a ynsignuar las armas de el antiguo apellido de Roa que son (y su origen) en la forma y manera siguiente.

APPENDIX V

DON JUAN SANCHEZ BELMONTE ADAM Y QUADRA

BIBLIOTECA NAÇIONAL

Mss. Z. 84 (1895)

Dⁿ JUAN ALPHONSO GUERRA Y SÁNDOLVA &
SANCHEZ BELMONTE ADAM Y QUADRA.

Concuerdan los mas veridicos Autores, y Genealogistas en que la familia ilustre de Sanchez se deriva de los caballeros Godos, que escaparon el año de 714 de la Barbara furia mahometana, y dividiendose en diferentes Montañas, e yntrincadas asperezas, tanto de Leon, Galizia, Asturias, y Montañas de Burgos; como en las de los Pirineos, determinaron elegir sus caudillos, que los patrocinasen para poder sacudir tan fiero yugo; y dejando aparte los caballeros nobles, que de ese ylustre apellido se hallaron con el ynfante y Rey Dⁿ Pelayo en la milagrosa vatalla de Cobadonga, passemos á los que se retiraron á los Pirineos, que eligiendo por su caudillo a Dⁿ Garcia Ximenez, fueron conquistando, y ganando tierras por aquella parte, hasta llegar a la Nabarra y Aragon, donde fundaron sus Casas Solariegas, para dexar vinculada en sus Descendientes la memoria de sus famosos hechos; y entre los Caballeros antiguos, que acompañaron á este caudillo, hallamos á Rodrigo Sanchez de la noble stirpe Goda, cuias empresas y Valor, lealtad y fineza, le hicieron nobilissimo tronco de este linage, tanto en los mencionados Reynos, como en Galizia y las Asturias de Oviedo; assi lo afirma entre otros autores Diego de Urbina, Regidor de Madrid, y Rey de armas que fue de las Magestades catholicas de Phelipe 2^o y 3^o en su libro de Blasones y linages nobles de España, a los folios 144 y 150 donde dice, que los Caballeros Sanchez passaron al Reyno de Aragon, conquistando desde los Pirineos, y que de alli, passaron tambien al de Valencia y sus ciudades y villas; y que son muy antiguos hijos Dalgo, de los quales huvo seys hermanos, que sirvieron al Rey Dⁿ Fernando de Aragon y Castilla, y que el mayor de ellos se llamo Gabriel Sanchez que fue tesorero de dicho Señor Rey y el segundo se llamo Juan Sanchez muy Rico hombre, y valeroso, el qual passo al Reyno de Valencia; y el tercero Sancho Sanchez, que fue Baile general de Aragon, y el quarto Guillen Sanchez, Copero mayor, y despues Maestre Sala de aquel Soberano: y el quinto Francisco Sanchez Despensero maior del Rey: y el sexto Alonso Sanchez Thesorero de Valencia; de los quales provienen los que en aquel Reyno se unieron al Apellido de *Bellmont*, de quien proviene la linea de nuestra parte que Radicó en la ciudad de Orihuela, de ymmemorial tiempo á esta parte, donde al presente, no ay otra de este Apellido de Sanchez *Bellmont*, sino la de la parte para quien zertificamos, ni que goze de maior nobleza, como se experimenta y parece en el libro contestador de aquel ylustre Ayuntamiento, por el qual consta, que Andres Sanchez *Bellmont* 20 abuelo paterno de nuestra referida parte, y antiguo Ciudadano, obtuvo el empleo de Justicia Maior de aquella Ciudad el año 1631, y assi mismo

en el de 1661 i 1689 se halla á Gines *Sanchez Belmont*, que obtuvo el mismo en ella, y ultimamente nos consta que el año 1707 Juan *Sanchez Belmont* Ciudadano noble obtuvo el empleo de Justicia mayor en aquella ylustre Ciudad por probissyon de S. M. y Señores de ella; el qual dio muestras de su lealtad y nobleza, asistiendo en dicho empleo con gran vigilancia, y celo, á las tropas de S. M. que estubieron en aquel Recinto, como tambien a la copia de enfermedades que en aquel tiempo acaecieron y estos tales fueron padre Abuelo y Vis Abuelo paterno de D^ñ Ignacio Sanchez Belmont á cuió pedimiento damos esta Obra: Y por cuyo ylustre Apellido las armas, que á esta parte pertenecen, segun el referido Diego de Urbina á los citados folios, se organizan de un *escudo* partido en faja, en primero en campo verde siete palos o Bárras, los quatro de oro, y los tres Rojos; en segundo en campo de oro un castillo de su color, puertas y Bentanas azules, y un Brazo armado, que sale por una Bentana con espada en la mano; como se miran esculpidas en el primer quartel del escudo, que da principio á este Blason en cuya conformidad las debe usar D^ñ Ignacio *Sanchez Belmont*, (de cuió Apellido passaremos Brebemente á tratar), por provenir lexiticamente de los Caballeros *Sanchez*, que hemos referido; y de la Rama ylustre, que passó á la ciudad de Orihuela Reyno de Valencia, la que viniendo de padres, á hijos, produjo lexitimamente á D^ñ Juan *Sanchez Belmont*, que casando *ym facie ecclesie* con D^a Angela *Adan y Quadra*, fueron padres lexitimos de el referido D^ñ Ignacio, a quien corresponde por su linea recta paterna el Apellido de *Belmont*, del qual tratan nuestros authores en la forma siguiente. —

BELLMONT

D^ñ Pedro de Salazar Giron, Alonso de Sta. Cruz, Lope de Badillo, la Universal Gracia Dey, y otros Diversos Authores, que tratan de la cassa ylustre de *Belmonte*, nos dicen que esta sita en la Francia; y que en España tiene su solar muy noble y conocido en el Reyno de Nabarra, á donde passaron en la recuperacion de nuestra basta monarquia Española; y que son de la Real sangre de aquel Reino de donde pasaron al de Balenzia, sirviendo fielmente en ocasiones de paz y Guerra a los Reies y Prinzipes de estas Catholicas Coronas y que en la Sierra de *Belmonte* un Caballero de estos mui Antiguo desbarató con un Mazo gran multitud de gente de Inglaterra por su Rei, y por la Porzela; y que mucho mexor benzio tambien D^ñ Luis de *Belmont* con D^ñ Beltran de Claqui en aquella fraterna Pelea que tubieron; y Alonso de Santa Cruz afirma, que se hallaron estos cavalleros con D^ñ Sancho de Octabo de Navarra en la famosa Batalla de las Nabas de Tholosa; y que de ellos vino un cavallero nombrado D^ñ Juan de *Belmonte* que casó en Castilla con D^a Ignes de Mendoza hija de D^ñ Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, cavallero mui notorio por su illustre Sangre, y valor: y afirman estos Autores, ser las Armas de este apellido, un *escudo dividido en tres quarteles en primero en campo verde un peñasco o sierra sobre ondas de Agua de azul y plata y dos estrellas de oro enzima; en segundo en campo Rojo flor de lis de oro, y en terzero en campo azul un Roble verde y un cabrio que quiere comer de el, y al lado de Arriba del Arbol un Mazo de plata; y por timbre un Alcon*: en la misma forma que se miran y luminadas en el 2º quartel del escudo con que prinzipia esta Obra; en la que, y no en otra las podra usar nuestra parte D^ñ Ignazio *Sanchez Belmont*, y *Adam*; como hijo lexitimo de los mencionados D^ñ Juan *Sanchez Belmont*, y D^a Angela *Adam y Quadra*, y nieto por linea Recta de varon de D^ñ Gines *Sanchez Belmont*, como ya hemos referido. Y correspondiendole por su linea Materna el Apellido de *Adam*; pasaremos á expresar su origen y Armas en la narrazion siguiente. —

ADAM

Es tan venerable la antigüedad de un linage, que quanto mas dilatada é ymmemorial, le acredita de mas noble, segun lo afirma el Rey D^ñ Alonso el Sabio; y la refiere Tiracuello en estas palabras: *Nobilitas quo antiquor est ea quoque mayor*, estos mismos atributos permanecen en el ylustre y antiguo Apellido de *Adam*, que otros nombraron, (mudando, y añadiendo silavas) Adem, Adana, y Adamo; pero D^ñ Philadelfo Muñoz, y otros varios papeles genealogicos y Autores nos previenen, haverse tomado este apellido del nombre propio de nuestro comun y primero Padre, que el aumento y mutazion de silavas, que hemos mencionado; es por el modo de azenptuar, que tienen en Italia; de donde proviene esta familia, existiendo con muy apreciable antigüedad y nobleza en Lombardia, Milan y Sicilia, y otras muchas partes de la Italia, de donde (segun Diego de Urbina Regidor de Madrid, y Rey de Armas de los Señores Reyes D^ñ Phelipe 2^o y 3^o en su tomo primero original folio 182) passaron á la recuperacion y expulsion de los Moros á esta Península, quedandose muchos en ella, y bolviendose los mas á su antiguo zentro, y los ay muy antiguos y nobles hijos dalgo en el Reyno de Galizia, Murzia, y otras partes; habiendo passado del de Murzia á la ciudad de Orihuela, Reyno de Valencia; de la qual es ciudadano el Doctor D^ñ Ignacio de Adam Abuelo materno de nuestra parte, que exercio en ella el empleo noble de Justicia criminal el año de 1703. Como parece en el libro contestador del mencionado año y consta por testimonio de Raphael Medina escribano publico de S. M., y del Numero y Juzgados de la expresada ciudad de Orihuela, dado en 28 de Marzo de 1747: y el referido Diego de Urbina á los folios ya citados previene, que los caballeros de este Apellido usan por armas, *un escudo en campo azul y en el dos Vandas de oro, y una estrella en lo alto, y otra en la bajo, del mismo metal*: en la misma forma que se miran diseñadas en el terzero quartel del escudo que da prinzipio á esta certificacion en la qual, y no en otra las podra usar nuestra parte; por provenir lexitimamente, de los caballeros de Apellido *Adam*, que de Murzia pasaron a Orihuela, donde hallamos a el Doctor D^ñ Ignazio *Adam*, Ciudadano de ella; que como ya hemos referido obtubo (en reconozimiento de su distinzion) el empleo de Justicia criminal o maior en la enunpziada ciudad, el año referido de 1703. Y fue Abuelo Materno del expresado D^ñ Ignazio *Sanchez Belmont Adam*, y *Quadra*, de cuio Apellido, (que assi mismo le corresponde por la linea Materna) pasamos á expresar el Noble Solar y Armas, en la forma siguiente. —

QUADRA

El Becerro general y Nobleza unibersal de D^ñ Juan Baños de Velasco y el tomo segundo de Linages y Blasones nobles de España de Diego de Urbina al folio 153 nos previenen que los caballeros ylustres del Linage de *Quadra* y la *Quadra* son muy Buenos y antiguos hijos Dalgo naturales de las encartaciones de Vizcaya y tienen su solar en el valle de Argentaes, y que el hijo mayor de esta casa salio en servicio del Rey D^ñ Alonso el noveno contra los moros y que viendo este caballero como uno de aquellos Barbaros abatio del caballo á un valeroso christiano, y le mato, y quito el estandarte, en el qual estaba figurada una cruz Bermeja, como la de Calatrava en campo dorado, orleada con ocho cruzetas rojas de hechura de las de Gerusalen en campo de plata; Arremetió con tanto ympetu y vigor nuestro ynclito caballero y señor de la casa de *Quadra* al Moro, que le mató, y echó del caballo en tierra; quitandole el mencionado escudo e ynsignias de los christianos, Besandola muchas veces, y atropellando al mismo tiempo otros

ynfiele, que le rodeaban; y noticioso el Rey Dⁿ Alonso de tan valeroso hecho, mando darle al ynstante cien doblas; y que pussiese por armas él, y sus descendientes, ademas de las que les correspondian, las mencionadas cruces, y despues pobló este caballero en la *Quadra*, otras casas y solares, de donde procede mucha nobleza en toda España; la que tambien ay en el Reyno de Murzia y Valencia cuio principal origen fue Iñigo Ordoño de la *Quadra*, hijo de Ordoño Zamudio, de los linages antiquissimos, y mas nobles de aquellas encartaciones de Vizcaya; por cuya originaria nobleza usan por armas estos Caballeros *un escudo en dos quarteles, en primero en campo azul tres Barras de plata, y en segundo en campo de oro una enzina verde, y dos lobos negros atravesados al tronco, orleado dicho escudo con ocho Cruces rojas de Gerusalen en campo de plata*; como se miran esculpidas en el quarto quartel del escudo, que está al principio de esta certificacion; en cuya Conformidad las podra usar, poner y pintar el mencionado Dⁿ Ignacio Sanchez Belmont, Adam y Quadra, por provenir lexitimamente del mencionado solar y de la Rama noble, que pasó a la Ciudad de Orihuela en el Reyno de Valencia; la que viniendo de padres, á hijos produjo lexitimamente á Dⁿ Diego de *Quadra*, Inseculado tambien en el Brazo real de la mencionada Ciudad donde exerció con sus respectivos tiempos los empleos de maior honor entre los nobles de ella, como fue el de Justicia maior el año de 1656 y tuvo por hija a D^a Augustina de *Quadra* que casó con Dⁿ Ignacio Adam, de quienes procedió D^a Angela Adam que casó con Dⁿ Juan Sanchez Belmont, y fueron padres lexitimos del referido Dⁿ Ignacio Sanchez Belmont Adam y Quadra, parte para quien certificamos; el que sirvió á S. M. de cadete en el Regimiento de cavalleria de la Reyna y de Alferez, en el de Dragones de Ribagorza; y por su reforma fue agregado al de Numancia, y despues reemplazado de vivo en el de Dragones de Edinburgo, y es Alferez maior y rexidord decano de la expresada ciudad de Orihuela; de donde este y sus padres y Abuelos son Ciudadanos y naturales; y reconocidos por nobles hijos Dalgo y como tales se les deben guardar todos los honores y preheminiencias exemptions, é ymmunidades, que se acostumbran guardar á todos los demas caballeros hijos Dalgo notorios de Casa y Solar ynfanzonado y conozido; como consta de la Real declarazion de S. M. que obtuvó el año de 1742, la qual está consiguiente á esta certificacion, y unida á ella. Evidenciandose de uno y otro los esplendores, con que la Rama, de donde dimana esta parte, florece en la nominada Ciudad con Brillos sobresalientes de la mas acendrada nobleza e hidalguia heredada de sus primitivos Solares, lo que acreditan los timbres y Blasones que usan en sus armas cuyas significaciones, segun los mas clasicos Armistas son el forma siguiente. —

APPENDIX VI

TOLEDO INQUISITION: INES DE BELMONTE

TOLEDO (Inquisicion de) JUDAIZANTES

BELMONTE ó GONZALEZ (Inés de)

Muger de Fernando de Belmonte — Su causa.

1484-1485

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL

Legajo — 137 Número — 107.

PROCESSO CONTRA INES DE BELMONTE

En XI de Febrero de LXXXIII^o. —

Muy Reverendos et virtuosos Señores juezes Inquisidores de la heretica pravedad.

Yo Ferrando Rodriguez del Varco capellan del Rey nuestro Señor promotor fiscal de la Sancta Inquisición paresco ante Vuestras Reverencias e denuncio e querello de Ines de Belmonte, muger de Ferrando de Belmonte vezina desta Cibdad-Real E contando el caso digo que biniendo la dicha Ines de Belmonte en nombre e posesion de Christiana e usando e gosando de las preheminencias e prerrogativas de Christiana en ofensa de nuestro Señor e de su Santa fe Catholica e en menospreçio de las çesuras eclesiasticas e de las otras penas çeviles e criminales que en cometiendo heregias e apostasyas esperar deviera la dicha Ines de Belmonte guardo e cerimonia la ley de Moysen e cosas ynclussas debaxo della segund de yuso.

Uvo que la dicha ynes de belmonte por honrra e ceremonia de la dicha ley ençendio candiles el viernes tarde de temprano por honrra del sabado e guiso del viernes para el sabado e lo asi guissado el dicho viernes comio el sabado ayunando los sabados cesando en ellos toda obra vistio en ellos ropas limpias e amaso pan cenceño e lo cosio e comio en la pasqua que los judios lo comen e quando la pascua del pan cenceño todo por honrra y solepnidad e observacion de la dicha ley. E la dicha ynes de belmonte judayso y heretico en otras cosas e casos maneras o tiempos que guardando lo susodicho estando sirviendo guardando las otras y en que como en las susodichas deve ser avida por rea e culpada en ellas y que protesto de ser en el progreso desta cabsa seyendo neçesario por que digo que la dicha Ynes de Belmonte de derecho es e deve ser avida por hereje e apostata e persona que guardo e cerimonia la dicha ley posponiendo la verdadera quien ynjuriandola quanto mas non aver venido a se redusir a la madre Santa Yglesia confesando los dichos sus hereticos errores porque Reverendos señores vos pido e requiero por tal hereje e apostata la declareys e pronunçieys declarando aver yncurrido en las

dichas censuras e aver perdido sus bienes e en las otras penas criminales para lo qual e en lo nesçesario ymploro vuestro Reverendo e noble ofiçio e pido complimiento de Justicia. —

En treçe dias del mes de Febrero de ochenta y quatro la dicha Ynes de Belmonte paresçion en juyçio ante los Señores Ynquisidores y respondienddo a la acusaçion contra ella puesta por el dicho fiscal dixo que confesava todo lo contenido en ella y asy mismo a mayor abondamiento dio una confesion por ella fecha, la qual es esta que se sigue.

Muy Reverendos
y Virtuosos Señores.

Yo Ines Gonçalves muger de Fernando de Velmonte veçina desta Cibdad-Real en la colacion de Sant Pedro en la calle de los herreros con muy gran verguença vengo ante vuestras Reverençias a dezir e confesar todos mis pecados que he cometido en ofensa de mi Señor Jhesu Christo y de su Santa fee Catholica.

Primeramente digo mi culpa que guarde los sabados por ceremonia vystiendo camysas limpias e ropas de paño festibales.

Item que los viernes en las noches ençendi candyles limpios en lo qual me puso Catalina Flores muger de Diego Flores vecina de Almagro.

Item que guise de comer el biernes para el sabado.

Item que comi pan de cenceño algunas vezes lo qual me dyo una vez la dicha Catalina Flores y despues lo comi otras dos vezes por que lo hesimos yo e una mi hermana que se llama Costanta Diaz vecina de Malagon.

Item que ayune algunos dias non me desayunando hasta la noche.

Item que quando trayan la carne de la carneçeria que la deseava e la purgaba.

Item que comi carne degollada por mano de Judyo estando preñada de un niño.

Item que me presentaron una vez un pedaço de carne los moros de Almagro e que lo comy tenyendo my marydo la poncha de los moros.

Item que estando paryda que comy carne e huebos en coaresma e que estube çinco semanas que non me lebante de la cama.

Item que holgue algunas pascuas de los Judyos.

De las quales cosas por my confesadas pydo a nuestro Maestro e Redemptor Jhesu Christo perdon e a vuestras Reverentias penytencia e protesto sy alguna cosa de aquy adelante a mi memoria vinyere lo verne a dezir ante vuestras Reverençias.

Ines de Belmonte — carcel X

Vista por vos P^o Diaz de la Costana liçençiado en Sacra Theologia canonygo en la yglesia de Burgos Juez Inquisidor de la heretica pravedad dado por la actoridad apostolica en esta Cibdad Real e su tierra e en todo el campo de Calatrava e arçobispado de Toledo ofiçial e vicario general en todo el arçobispado de Toledo por el Reverendisimo yn Christo padre e Señor Don P^o Gonzalez de Mendoza Cardenal de España arçobispo de Toledo Primado de las Españas, chanciller mayor de Castilla etc. etc. con acuerdo e consejo del honrado e sabio varon el Liçençiado Juan Gutierrez de Baltanas assesor acompañado desta Sancta Inquisiçion una acusaçion que el honrrado Fernando Rodriguez del Varco capellan del Rey nuestro Señor-promotor fiscal de la dicha Sancta Inquisiçion yntento e propuso contra Ines de Belmonte muger de Fernando de Belmonte vezina desta Cibdad Real en que dixo que ella biniendo e estando en nombre e posesyon de Christiana en ofensa de Nuestro Señor e de su Sancta fe Catholica e en menospreçio de las çensuras ecclesiasticas e de las otras penas çeviles e criminales quien cometiendo

heregias e apostasias esperar deviera la dicha Ynes de Belmonte guardo e cerimonia la ley de Moysen e cosas ynclusas debaxo della segund de yuso; uvo que la dicha Ynes de Belmonte por honrra e cerimonia de la dicha ley ençendio candyles el viernes tarde de temprano por honra del sabado e guiso del viernes para el sabado e lo asy guisado el viernes comio el sabado y guardo los sabados çesando en ellos toda obra, vistio en ellos rropas limpias amaso pan çençeño e lo cosio e comio en la pasqua que los Judios lo comen y guardo la pascua del pan çençeño todo por honra e solepnnydad e observancia de la dicha ley por lo qual pidio ser declarada por apostata e hereje e aver yncurrido en las penas en los derechos contra los tales estableçidas e en confiscacion e perdiçion de todos sus vienes e sea lo fecho complimiento de Justiçia. E visto como la dicha Ynes de Belmonte de su propia voluntad confeso todo lo contenido en la dicha acusacion ser verdad e lo aver fecho e cometido e a un allende aver fecho e cometido otras cosas las quales ante nos manyfesto segund paresçe por una confesyon que presento en que dixo que guardo los Sabados por cerimonia vistiendose camysas limpias e rropas de paño festiales e que los viernes en las noches ençendio candyles e que guiso de comer el viernes para el sabado e conyo pan çençeño e lo yço e que ayuno algunos dias non se desayunando hasta la noche e quando trayn carne de la carnesçeria la deseava e la purgaba e que comio carne degollada por mano de Judio estando preñada e que holgo algunas pascuas de los Judios e como nos pidio la rresçibiesemos a reconçiliacion e visto como por la dicha su confesion espontanea se provo contra ella la dicha acusacion e allende de aquella para sus testigos que disen e deponen todo lo contenido en la dicha acusacion e se prueba asi mismo que por themor de la Inquisiçion e despues que nos aqui venymos a causa de la heregia por ella cometida se fue e absento desta çibdad e su tierra e anduvo e estuvo a su tiempo hasta que por nuestro mandado e contra su voluntad fue presa e trayda a nuestra çarçel aqui a esta çibdad donde ha estado e esta presa hasta agora. E visto e examinado todo su proçeso con letrados e personas Religiosas onbres de buenas conçiencias e çiençia syguienti su acuerdo e consejo teniendo a Dios ante nuestros ojos.

Fallamos segund lo confesado por la dicha Ynes de Belmonte e lo que los testigos dizen e deponen contra ella aver seydo e ser hereje e apostata e por tal la pronunçiamos e declaramos e aver yncurrido en sentençia de excomunion mayor e en las otras penas en los derechos contra los tales herejes estableçidas e en confiscacion e perdiçion de sus bienes pero por que de su propria voluntad syn negar la acusacion ny se oponer contra ella confeso la heregia que avia fecho e cometido e queriendo usar mejore de mas sano consejo que hasta aqui con puro coraçon e fee non fingida segund ella dise se quiere tornar a la yunion e ayuntamiento de nuestra Sancta Madre Yglesia y en ella estar y benyr e permanser por ende sy asy es como dise que de puro coraçon e con buena contriçion e non fingida o symulada fee se torne a nuestra Santa Madre Yglesia abjurando primeramente en forma de derecho toda espeçie de heregia e en espeçial esta de judayçar e guardar e solepnnyzar la ley de Moysen sy la penytençia que por nos le fuere ympuesta cumpliere mandamos la absolver e absolvemos la dicha Sentençia de Excomunion en que yncurrio syne abhomyne sino ajure por aver fecho e cometido la dicha heregia de judayzar e por asy aver herrado contra nuestro Señor e salvador Jhesu Christo e contra su Sancta Yglesia segund e en la manera que por la dicha Ynes de Belmonte es confesado mandamos la poner e ponemosla en çarçel donde mandamos que este ençerrada por que alli aga con digna penitencia de su pecado, e donde no salga hasta que sea nuestra voluntad. E asy lo pronunçiamos e declaramos e mandamos en estos escriptos e por ellos

es escripto — entre rrenglones — o dis — mejor — o dis — donde non salga hasta que sea nuestra voluntad — Vala — &. —

Petrus Licenciatus — Rúbrica. —

En XV de Março de ochenta y çinco se dio esta sentençia en su presençia en el cadaalso e plaça — Testigos Alvaro Guiar e Gonzalo de Saçedo e Fernando de Uçes e Fernando de Poblet Regidores e el arçipreste e el Licenciado Juan Fernandez bachiller= Gonzalo Muñoz su higo e el Liçenciado Juan del Campo. —

APPENDIX VII

FRANÇOIS DE SCHONENBERG

RÉSUMÉ OF SOME LETTERS OF FRANÇOIS DE SCHONENBERG

FROM

THE SCHONENBERG PAPERS

Schonenberg's name is variously spelled by the officials Schonenburg or Schonenbergh, but he himself always uses the form Schonenberg. There is nothing in the letters to point to his religion, unless the words "nom baptissaire" denote anything more than a formal phrase. His usefulness is testified to by Lord Aglionby, and he himself is never tired of repeating his zeal for the king and the nation. In some cases it would seem that he protests too much, but doubtless the epistolary fashion of the time is responsible for what appears to us exaggerated. In particular the Malaga and Cadiz affairs, the case of François Alvarez, the Isabella and the adventurer deserve mention as instances of the services he rendered to the English government. In addition his keen political insight as revealed by these letters shows what an experienced diplomatist the writer must have been, and there can be no doubt that his observations, advice and information generally must have stood the government in good stead.

The name Belmonte occurs only once—in connection with the Dutch merchant of that name with whom he is said to be on terms of intimacy.

It is not unworthy of note that he describes himself as a legally naturalized subject of England.

The following letters of Mons. Schonenberg are contained (in Vol. 75. State Papers Foreign, Spain. 1692-1705) in the Record Office. They are all in French, written by a clerk and signed at the end by Schonenberg.

No. 1.

Letter from Schonenberg to "Mons. Vernon, Secrétaire d'Estat," Mar. 23, 1701.

Schonenberg asks for instructions as to whether he is to congratulate the new king on his accession, having already done so in the name of the States-General of the United Provinces.

On the authority of the Portuguese envoy he denies the report that the king of Portugal has been won over by the inducements of the French court.

He gives the court news: i.e., the appointment of Marquis de Légarez as Captain General; the recall from America of the viceroys of Peru and New Spain as leaning too much towards the house of Austria, etc.

In spite of the assurances of "Mons. le Duc de Harcourt" that Spain has nothing to fear from the whole of Europe, in view of the close union with France, yet there seems to be general apprehension here owing to the sympathy between the king of

England and the newly elected Parliament and owing also to the vigorous resolutions passed both there and in the United Provinces; hence Cardinal Portocarrero and Don Manuel Arias are unpopular, as they are the two ministers most favorable to France.

The court has decided "*de faire lever la banniere*" to attract the military. This was impracticable owing to lack of funds.

Harcourt complains of Spanish dilatoriness; attention is being paid to fortification of Gibraltar.

Harcourt maintains that the Elector of Bavaria sides with France and that the Archbishop Elector of Cologne is about to do so.

Schonenberg complains that he cannot recover the despatches from the government, which took them off the body of the courier of the Duke of Manchester, the said courier having been drowned near Bayonne.

Lord Aglionby is indisposed and cannot go out, but Schonenberg sees that he does not interrupt his usual intercourse with the Spanish and foreign ministers, so that he will have plenty to tell when he gets home.

No. 2.

From Schonenberg to Vernon, dated Madrid, Mar. 23, 1701.

He refers to his previous letter of the 9th (which is not here). He mentions that there are frequent meetings between Cardinal Portocarrero, Cazes, Harcourt and French and Spanish ministers concerning Spanish and American affairs. The result has been that there is to be a combination of the French fleet and the Spanish ships of war, which are in American waters, the former being eighteen, the latter twenty-five in number.

Harcourt, the chief depositary and director of the French designs, has obtained, for the commander of the above mentioned fleet, Chateaurenaud, a patent of Admiral in Chief of the Spanish portion, and has caused the new king to order all the Spanish officers to obey him. He (Schonenberg) has found out secretly that the putting into a state of defense of the Spanish-American ports in case of war is not merely to protect them against possible invasion, but because an attempt will be made, in case of war, to capture Jamaica and Curaçoa, the situation of which is dangerous to Spanish trade.

The fleet is to use the assistance of the buccaneers in those ports.

Schonenberg has pointed out (among the Spaniards), wherever possible, the danger of Spain putting herself into French hands. France has secret designs on the Spanish colonies, which she will overawe later on by means of the troops she is now sending in under the guise of auxiliaries. Schonenberg's view is not without supporters, among the court and elsewhere, but no one dares show opposition.

Schonenberg gives assurances of his own zeal and vigilance. An express from Cadiz has just arrived reporting the unexpected return of the fleet under Don Pedro Navarette which was despatched against the Scottish colony at Darien. As it was destined to join Chateaurenaud out there, surprise is felt. The governorship of Buenos Ayres has been given this time to a military person instead of, as usual, to a civilian, i.e., to Don Juan Alonzo de Valdes. He is taking engineers with him to fortify the town against the English and Dutch and also against the Portuguese, whose territory is adjoining.

No. 3.

To Vernon from Schonenberg, Mar. 23, 1701.

Schonenberg has succeeded in getting the fourteen Scottish prisoners from Havana (where they had been shipwrecked) released. He forwards translated copies of the letters that have passed between him and the officials about it. He is surprised to hear of the testimonies of Captains Pinkarton and Graham, which the Duke of Hamilton is reported to have read out in Parliament. They, together with three others, who have been captured at Cartagena, stated that they had been set at liberty and their lives spared because of the evacuation of Darien and not because of the intercession of William III. He encloses the copies of the correspondence and refers to his previous letters which all incontestably prove the falsehood of this; it is due to ingratitude, a design to rob him of the credit due to his kindness, etc., to his subjects.

(Then follows copy of letter from Don Antonio de Ubilla y Medina, the Secretary of State, concerning the release of these prisoners, to Schonenberg and enclosed by Schonenberg in his previous letter to Vernon.) This leaves no doubt that it was due to Schonenberg's intervention entirely that they were not hanged.

In the next letter of Aglionby (Madrid, Mar. 23, 1701) the latter states that Schonenberg had audience with the king and delivered to him the letter of the States, "with a short complement, to wch ye King answer'd as his predecessor usd to doe: the day before, Don Antonio de Ubilla sent to him in ye King's name to speake with him and askd him if besides his complement hee had anything else to purport (sic) and the envoy told him hee had not, at wch hee seemd pleas'd: hee tooke that occasion to aske him what account there was of ye letters found about ye drowned courier wch hee expected to have restord to him. The Secretarye replied that upon enquiry, the Vice Roy of Navarr had writ word there were noe letters found about him at all . . . these are all the little occurrences that have fallen to my share to write. Monsieur de Schonenberg will bee more substantial and particular."

No. 4.

Madrid, April 6, Schonenberg to Vernon.

He informs him about a project of alliance between France and Portugal. The Portuguese envoy states that the plans of the Portuguese court are only for a strict neutrality.

Schonenberg continues to inspire him with anti-French sympathies.

Count Walsain, the Austrian ambassador at Lisbon, is trying his best to do the same, but is foiled by the misguided efforts "of certain ministers of certain powers interested." France offers Portugal the re-establishment of the Assiento, the indemnity for the pension which the English pay the Queen Dowager of the late Charles II, and the settlement of the Amazon dispute.

Matters remain on the same standing owing to lack of money, which is still felt in spite of Harcourt's efforts and the Minister of Finance. France will be compelled to act alone, if she sends a fleet to America, as the ships are absolutely unfit for service. Gibraltar is still without troops. French agents declare that war is inevitable. Many

couriers between Spain and France, the former growing more and more dependent on France. The king does nothing but hunt.

The English consul at Cadiz has settled the matter of the fourteen prisoners. English and Dutch merchants residing in Spain are securing their effects in view of war. The receiver and administrator of crown funds have been told not to make any settlements either of pensions or debts, but to keep all money ready for emergencies. This last decree states expressly that the money is required to meet hostile designs.

He encloses two letters for the king and asks for orders on the subjects mentioned in them.

No. 5.

From Schonenberg to the king, enclosed with last one to Vernon. Madrid, Apr. 6, 1701.

France is sparing no efforts to disseminate in Spain defiance of England and the United Provinces by flattering the Republic with insidious proposals and secret negotiations in order to expose it to the suspicion of its allies and then to overwhelm the allies one by one. But the people see that this plan is known and that England and Holland are firm friends and on the alert. Portocarrero and Don Manuel D'Arrias are the chief agents in this; they are openly partizans of France. Harcourt dupes them with boastful accounts of French forces and of the power of Louis over English Roman Catholics. His ideas make an impression, and war appears quite inevitable, in which case Schonenberg asks whether he is to go to Lisbon or not.

APPENDIX VIII

BARON MANUEL DE BELMONTE

BIBLIOTECA NAÇIONAL — MANUSCRITOS.

CARTAS DE MANUEL DE BELMONTE

Mss. 899.

11 pliegos.

20 cartas.

CARTAS DE MANUEL BELMONTE. Sign. 899.

Señor — Con la obligación, que me ocurre de Criado de V. Alt^{za} I^{ma} encontinuo en Enviar a sus Reales manos Los avisos que llegan á mi noticia, estimaré infinito sean Agradables a V. Alt^{za} I^{ma} y quedo pidiendo á Dios me falte el día, que no me ocupare en el servicio de V. Alt^{za} I^{ma} y que guarde essa Real persona, los muchos años y los Reynos de la Monarchia de España han Menester. Ams^m y Diz^e 6 de 1666 — Pós-trase á los Reales pies de V. Alt^{za} I^{ma} Manuel de Belmonte —

S^r mio: Con el gusto que siempre tengo qu^{do} entiendo buenas nuevas de Vm. Recibi la de Vm de 29 del pasado, estimando infinito Las que metrahe de goçar Vm. salud perfetta que pido á Dios Se Conserbe por muchos años. Con las felicidades que sus aficionados servidores, le desseamos. En mi ultima dije a Vm quanto estimaria se me diese el puesto de Consul y estoy tan confiado en los favores que Vm es servido haserme, que me premedo, siendo posible el nombram^{to} pues patrocinara mi pretension interzediendo por ella Con S. A.—De las memorias inchlussas Vera Vm. Lo que se me ha ocurrido remonstrar á S. A. en la presente guerra que nos hasen fransesses, Vm. se servira ponerlas en Manos de S. A. y hallando que se siga el impedir el Comercio a fransesses, no puedo dexar de suplicar a S. A. quiera haser se me nombre para sellar y dar pasaportes p^a las Manuffaturas, Con titulo de Veedor, Como tubo Gabriel de la Rey en Hamburgo en esto amparara S. A. este su criado y puedo asigurar puedo mexor que otro dirigir este Negocio, pues entiendo tambien Como el mas mercad^{el} los generos, y en el servicio de S. M. (que Dios guarde) soy bien conocido, Vm. me hara particular mrd con las mas Recevidas, Remostrar esso a S. A. y con su interbension fazilitar el Despacho, que me prometo A gusto, siendo por manos de Vm. aq quedare reconozido quanto obligado, y siempre en las ocassiones daré muestras de mi agradecim^{to}—Mui obligadà quedo al recuerdo que Vm. me avisa haria á S. A. p^a que se me asista con lo Venzido de mi sueldo, en todo me obliga Vm. tanto, q̄ no puedo corresponder con otro que pedir á Dios guarde á Vm. muchos anos Con las prosperidades que le deseo — Ams^m y Julio 31 de 1667 — En pliego ap^{te} y p^r via sigura doy aviso a S. A. con la obligⁿ de criado, de

lo que obro tocante al Real servicio, y con ella via el princip^l de los memoriales Agu^{do} el favor de Vm. respu^{ta} de lo que passa en lo q pido a Vm. — Su Mayor Serv^{dor} de Vm. Q. B. S. M. — Manuel de Belmonte — Sr. Dⁿ Matheo Patiño —

Señor — Con horden obtenida para procurar entender si en siguiendo la paz Con Inglatterra, licenciarian alguna gente y que en tal casso procurase tomarla en servicio, offreciendo Vm. sueldo de gruesos cada dia y seis patacones por persona en llegando à Amberes, de donde me aseguravan estar el dinero pronto de horden del Marques de Castel Rodrigo — En conformidad de esta horden hable luego uno por uno, à los del Magistrado de esta ziuudad, que son de quien depende La mayor parte del Govierno de esta Regencia, y en particular tuve dos conferencias con los Burgomaestres Valcedenir y Andrés de Graff que asisten por esta ziuudad en la Junta de los Estados de Holanda y de ellos entendi Lo siguiente habiendo primero reconocido Apprehendian mucho Los designios del Rey de Francia y conocidas por ciertas Las Rasones que Le di de que no procura mas de tomar à uno despues de otros, y que se va Apoderando del Comercio (es la cosa mas sensible para estos) pues con las ziuudades de flandes se enseñoreava de la fabrica de todas las Manifaturas, y viniendo de haser paz con España, tendria todo el negocio y estos quedarian sobre él, I les facilite el socorrernos trayendoles a la memoria Lo que interessavan en la Conservasion del pais, y que el de francia no Les guardava palabras, y era acostumbrado à haserlo, pues lo mostro en los socorros de Portugal Respondieron — que no Licenciarian ninguna Gente pues no obstante cessar con la paz y acomodamento con

Los Recelos quedavan aun Apprehendiendo al Obispo de Munster pues fomentado de la francia procuraria haserles diversien — que los Estados Generales deseavan Infinito la Conservacion de los Países Baxos mas que no se resolverian entrar en empeño Contra francia, sin hallarse bien enterados de la Intension del Rey de Inglatterra, y assi que convenia de n^{ra} parte se trabajase en haser que tenga Ntro. Rey Con ellos buena Inteligencia y que siendo el se resolvía à asistirnos, ellos lo haran con lo que les fuese posible y sin esta circunstancia no se empeñarian — His enueva Instancia en solizitar alguna Infanteria, trayendoles à la Memoria n^{ra}. Imposibilidad a opposicion de la Potencia francesa y Les puse en platica, si, Los Estados Consentirian en que los 80 infantes, y ve^{te} Cavallos que entretienen Los duques de Lunnemburgo, Zel y osnabruggo pasasen a servir en flandes, y que aun tenian de empeño dos messes con los Estados, a que obtuve p^a respuestas no se Inpediria en ningun Modo, y que se Holgarian mucho de ello, asiguriandome que a dar de n^{ra}. parte Luego 3000 florines alcansariamos otros tropas, y en Ratificandose el tratado con Inglatterra, podria ser se me ampliase La Permission de Cenas — Este aviso di al Marquis de Castel Rodrigo y quedo Aguardando Respuestas p^a obrar y como criado de V. Alt^a Ima avido adar quenta de todo, y hare lo mismo en adelante pidiendo à Dios guarde la Real Persona de V. Alt^a Ima los muchos años que los Reynos de la Monarchia de España han menester — Amsterdam y Agosto primero de 1667 — Postrase à los Reales pies de V. Alt^a Ima — Manuel de Belmonte —

Señor — Con las hordenes que obtuvieron El Cavallero de Bouillon y El Capitan La Roche, hay ydo dando ayer y hoy satisfacion à todos Los alrededores para poder salir libremente Con las ocho naves de guerra que tienen en Jessel, Conque se entiende que por toda la semana proxima podran estar aparejados, y salir de Aquel puerto para juntamente con otras quatro fragattas francesas, Cruzar delante del de Ostende — I^{mo}

Capitan La Roche procura tomar en su servicio Algunos Pilotos. y Marineros, conocidos en las costas Indias y he entendido por zertissimo que tiene determinado el Rey de francia enviar à este Capitan La Roche à La America Con lo navios de Guerra para hazernos en aguellas Bandas el daño posible y de Rochela à Buchernieu havia hordenado el Duque de Beaufordt à los Capitanes de su obediencia que à 6 del corriente se hallasen à bordo de sus naves, Con todo lo necesario y que tomen, retengan y Apressen quantos navios Encontraren de subditos de S. M. (que Dios guarde) y se Entiende pasará con 29 navios a Las costas de España Lo que aviso à V. Alt^a I^{ma} Con la obligacion que me ocurre de criado y quedo pidiendo à Dios guarde la Real persona de V. Alt^a I^{ma} Los Muchos años que los Reynos de la Monarchia de España han Menester — Ams^m y Agosto à 9 de 1667 — Postrase a los Reales pies de V. Alt^a I^{ma}. — Manuel de Belmonte —

Senor — Para la Junta que los Estados de Holanda han de tener a 20 Agosto para Resolver El Empleo de las Armadas, se trata en todas las ziudades de formar Conceptos que deven proponer, y en la de Amsterdam, los diputados de ella me an asegurado determinan enviar una Escuadra de navios de Guerra à las Costas de Portugal à tiempo que en Aquel Reyno Aguardan la flotta del Brasil, para procurar pagarse de lo que les deve, y que entra en consideración de la Cantidad de navios que necessitan para Esta Expedición, que el de francia, en Virtud de su última Alianza Con Portugal, podra ser le asista con parte de su Armada Naval, y que el de Inglaterra haga lo mismo, à que yo Les Respondi entendia ziertamente ser la intención del francés, hazer con la parte mas considerable de su Armada, Aguardar Galeones sobre las costas de España y que de nra parte no se podrian Armar à su oposición mas de 20 navios de guerra, fuerzas no suficientes contra las que reconocemos en francia, mas que si, de esta parte, Enviasen Contra Portugal 25 a 30 de los mejores navios de guerra siendo en la misma ocassion podriamos reprimir al frances, (no tendria lugar de Impedirles su designio contra Portugal, y asegurarian nros. galeones en que los súbditos de Holanda se hallan tan interesados a que me replicaron desseavan detener siguridad de que de nra. parte havia 20 navios de guerra, para en esta consideración formar su Concepto — Los Burgomaistres Andrés de Graff y Gillis Valcedenir que de parte de Este Magistrado Asisten en la Junta de los Estados de Holanda me aseguraron en confidencia tenian por cierto Arma el de Munster por quenta y horden del Rey de francia y que se procura de esta parte desbauecerle su prebención, pareciendoles que nos hacen servicio en desbaratar aquellas fuerzas, que tienen p^t asegurado se Emplearian en favor de nros. Enemigos — La nueva del desalojamiento de franceses de Lanseterranum y otros felices sucessos de nras. armas festejaron los de este Magistrado con demostraciones de alegría y quando les comuniqué la carta en que El Conde de Molina me dice la ratificación del tratado de Pas, me dieron los Agradecimientos por la atención y Valckenir (que es el primero en esta y por quien se mueve la voluntad del de With) me dijo tubiese por cierto que en trocandose las ratificaciones se trataria en la proxima Junta de los Estados de Holanda La forma como mexor Asistirán à los paisses Baxos, que El entendia sera (sin duda) licenciando algunos Regimientos en las fronteras q passaran al servicio de España, conociendo bien no es durable su amistad con franceses, pues ya se ocultan del Enviado Bemimga, à quien de esta parte le escriven hiziere lo mismo, y le conceden bolver a Repatriar — Ahora me aseguran se ha propuesto ya el Licenciar algunos Regimientos y para tomarlos en nro, servicio se necessita de dineros de qué hay penuria en flandes, y

como suceda brevemente, estoy à la mira, para procurar obtener alguna de esta gente ofreciendole un sueldo de gruesos al dia, y seis patacones el dia que llegaren à Amberes lo que mean hordenado — Aumentanse los disgustos con francia, teniendose noticia zierta que los Voluntarios, venidos contra el de Munster, sirvieron de Espiones, para reconocer el Estado de la Milicia de esta tierra, allegandose (para mas verifícaⁿ) haver dicho El Conde de Guiche, pasando à Paris, En Brusselas ybatan enterado de la mala disciplina que observava la Milicia de los Etados generales, que con 120 franceses La destrozaria (y como en francia tocaron à esto En El Comercio), poniendo imposiciones tan grandes de Entrada en los generos que van de Estas provincias, que es Imposible poder mandarlos, enpiesan los resentimientos, y en la Junta de la generalidad se Comunico un Concepto, de nuevos Impuestos que estos ponen a Imitación del frances en los Vinos y otros frutos de la francia y que siguiendo les Aminoravan todo su Comercio — Los de Lilla tomaron una posta que el Rey de francia enviava à M. de Lionne y obteniendo las cartas El Marques governador envio las copias al Embaxador Don Estevan de Gamarza para Comunicarlas à los Estados — Asiguran que en ellas le hordena proponga al Conde de Sⁿ Alvan nueva Alianza con El de Inglaterra y que le ofresca Ostende y Neieport si cooperase à la conquista del pais y que Mandava al Duque de Beaufort, Retenga quantos navios fuesen y viniesen à y de puertos de España, visitandoles, sacando las haziendas de subditos de la Monarchia, que es punto mui agrio à estos, y Los del Almirantasgo me asiguran no han de Tolerarlo, y que soltaran las Armas contra francia — Pongo estas noticias à los Reales pies de V. Alt^a I^{ma} Con la obligacion q̄ me ocurre, y quedo pidiendo à Dios me falte el dia que no me ocupare En el servicio de V. Alt^a I^{ma} y que guarde la Real persona de V. Alt^a I^{ma} los muchos años que los Reynos de la Monarchia de España han Menester — Amst^m y Agosto 19 de 1667 — Postrase à los Reales pies de V. Alt^a I^{ma} su criado — Manuel de Belmonte —

Señor — Las noticias inclussas pongo en las Reales Manos de V. Alt^a I^{ma} y en toda ocaasion no faltare en Enviar las que obtuviere, y quedo pidiendo à Dios Guarde la Real persona de V. Alt^a I^{ma} los muchos años que los Reynos de la Monarchia de Espana han Menester — Amsterdam y Agosto 19 de 1667 — Postrase à los Reales pies de V. Alt^a I^{ma} — Manuel de Belmonte —

S^r mio — La carta de Vm. de 19 de Junio me a trahido las nuevas que tanto estimo de la buena salud de Vm. que pido à nro. s^r Conserve en Vm. con las felicidades que sus servidores le desseamos. — El passado escrivi à S. A. en carta q̄ remiti à Gaspar Nuñez Visseo y por la misma via lo hice en q (?) y lo hago en esta ocassⁿ siendo todo p^r recelos, espero hayan llegado las cartas à manos de Vm. q̄ se servira avisarmelo — Con mi ultima remiti à Vm. zierto memorial de las cossas de francia y hise recuerdo à Vm. de la calidad de mi pretension pidiendole se sirviese ponerlo en la noticia de S. A. y con esta buelvo à supp^{ar} à Vm. quiera patrocinar esta peticion que es de obtener aqui el Ver y sellar las Manifaturas para que sin mi despacho no sean admitidas, sin pretender por esto nuevo sueldo, pues debajo el nombre de Agente se me puede dar el de Veedor de Manifaturas, esta gracia pido à S. A. siendo facil el concederla que yo ya tengo allaviado con los de este Magistrado las dificultades que se podian oponer, pues es lo mismo se obre p^r el Agente que por el Consul, y esto solo se encomienda à quien Mexor lo hase, à Vm. buelvo a supp^{ar} quiera fovorecer esta negociación que si Vm. lo dispone me prometo Luego el nombramiento que solizito, y pido à S. A. se me de y quedarè reconozido a la mrd.

que en este particular me hiziere Vm. y Luego procurare dar muestras de mi Agradecimiento — Como Vm. me avisa doy à S. A. las noticias obtenidas de Italia y Países Baxos, y en todo no faltare à quanto entendiese ser del gusto de S. A. — B. a Vm. la mano p^r la solicitacion del sueldo que me prometo en breve y siempre quedo muy pronto al servicio de Vm. Cuya Vida qu^e Dios mu^s an^s — Como desseo — Ams^m y Agosto 19 de 1667 — Hoy voy à La Haya à hablar al s^r Embaxador para sierta gente que puede ser pase a n^{ro}. servicio p^r esto anticipo el escrevir de alla lo hare de lo mas q̄ se refiere — Su Mayor serv^{dor} de Vm. Q. B. S. M. — Manuel de Belmonte — S^r Dⁿ Matheo Patiño —

Señor — A Los Reales pies de V. Alt^a I^{ma} pongo Los Avissos Inclussos, y no dejo pasar occassion sin Enviar los que van ocurriendo, y quedo pidiendo a Dios me falte el dia no me occupare en el servicio de V. Alt^a I^{ma} y que Guarde La Real Persona de V. Alta S^{ma} los muchos años que los Reynos de la Monarchia de España han Menester — Amsterdam y Settiembre 12 de 1667 — Postrase a los Reales pies V. Alt.^a I^{ma} Manuel de Belmonte.

APPENDIX IX

THE "LIVRO DOS GERASOIMS" OF THE FAMILY OF JACOB BELMONTE

REGISTRO DO MODO QUE ESTAD REPLASADOS OS NOMES DO LIVRO

f° A O S^r Jacob Belmonte Pay dos fillos que Siguen, Naseu em 5330: Faleseu em:
19 Kislev: 5390

f° 1 Sara Belmonte naseu em 23 outubro 1607: faleseu em 26 dito
1 Sara Belmonte naseu em 12 Setembro 1608: faleseu em 23 Elul 5392
1 Raquel Belmonte naseu em 10 febreiro 1610: Faleseu em 8 Abril 1681
2 Daniel Belmonte naseu em 29 abril 1612: faleseu em
2 Ribca Belmonte naseu em 23 Novembro 1613: faleseu em 23 febro 1614
3 Josseph Belmonte naseu em 3 dezembro 1614: faleseu em
3 Benjamin Belmonte naseu em 20 Saneiro 1616: faleseu em
4 Mossehe Belmonte naseu em 28 Setembro 1619: faleseu em
4 Selomoh Belmonte naseu em 29 Janeyro 1621: faleseu em
5 Semuel Belmonte naseu em P° Janeyro 5383: faleseu em

O S^r Abraham Querido Pay dos que Seguen faleseu 28 tebet 5400

f° 6 Jacob Querido naseu em 19 Janeyro 5390: Faleseu em
6 David Querido naseu em 19 Mayo 5392: faleseu em
6 Aron Querido naseu em 6 Marco 1630 faleseu em

O S^r David Belmonte Pay dos Que Segue, naseu em

f° 7 Sara Belmonte naseu em 18 Nisan 5394, faleseu em 20 Veadar 5396
8 Jacob Belmonte naseu em 11 novembro 1635 faleseu em

f° 14 O S^r Aron Querido Pay dos q̄ Seguen faleseu em 18 tamus 5433

f° 8 Simha Querida naseu em 11 Setembro 1645 faleseu em 20 Veadar 5464
9 Abraham Querido naseu em 25 Veadar 5407 faleseu em 23 tisri 5436
10 Mossehe Querido naseu em 27 hesvan 5409 faleseu em

O S^r Jacob Querido Pay dos que Seguen naseu em

-
- f^o 11 Abraham Querido naseu em 21 Sebat 5414 faleseu em
 11 Issaque Querido naseu em 11 Hesvan
 11 Aron Querido naseu em 2 tebet 5421 faleseu em

O S^r Selomoh Belmonte Pay dos q̄ siguen naseu em

-
- f^o 12 Jacob Belmonte naseu em 9 Sebat 5424 faleseu em
 12 Issaque Belmonte naseu em 28 tebet 5428 faleseu em

O S^r Joseph Belmonte Pay dos q̄ Siguen naseu em

-
- f^o 12 Jacob Belmonte naseu em 12 Sebat 5415 faleseu em
 13 Simha Belmonte naseu em 2 Nisan 5416 faleseu em
 13 David Belmonte naseu em P^{ro} Nisan 5417 faleseu em

O S^r Semuel Belmonte Pay dos q̄ Siguen^o

-
- f^o 13 Simha Belmonte naseu em 7 Sebat 5424 faleseu em
 13 Sara Belmonte naseu em 9 adar 5426 faleseu em
 14 Jacob Belmonte naseu em 19 Nisan 5428 faleseu em
 Michael Belmonte naseu em faleseu em

O S^r David Haim Querido Pay dos que Sige naseu em

-
- f^o 14 Sara Querida naseu em 4 tamus 5427 faleseu em
 f^o 14 Esta Falesimento do S^r Aron Querido Sogro do S^r Ab^m da fonseca
 f^o 8 O S^r Jacob Belmonte Pay dos q̄ Siguen
 f^o 15 David Belmonte naseu em
 15 Sara Belmonte naseu em 27 Sebat 5428 faleseu em.

O S^r meo Pay Abraham da fonseca Pay e S^r dos q̄ seguen

-
- 30 naseu em 12 tamus 5398 faleseu em 7 nisan 5471

-
- 16 Tras o dia de seu Cazamento de ditto S^r A^m. da fonseca soofalesimento da muller
 11 Isaque da fonseca naseu em 10 tamus 5429
 18 Angela da fonseca naseu em 18 Kislev 5431
 18 Raquel da fonseca naseu em 24 Nisan 5432 faleseu em 23 adar 5448
 19 Debora da fonseca naseu em 18 Hesvan 5434
 20 Aron da fonseca naseu em 13 Yiar 5435
 21 Daniel da fonseca naseu em 7 Sebat 5437
 22 Ester da fonseca naseu em 9 Sebat 5439 faleseu em 3 Veadar 5448
 22 Sara da fonseca naseu em 7 tisry 5442
 23 Jacob da fonseca naseu em Hesvan 5444
 24 Hana da fonseca naseu em 24 nisan 5445
 24 Selomoh da fonseca naseu em 15 Elul 5446

25 O S^r Issaque de Aron Pereyra Pay dos q̄ Sigen

-
- 25 Tras o Dia de seu Cazamento de detto Is: Pereira Com Angela da fonseca
 26 Aron Pereyra Belmonte naseu em 29 Sebat 5460

O S^r Issaque da Fonseca Pay dos q̄ Sigen

-
- 26 Tras o Dia de seu Cazamento de Dito Is: da fonseca Com Raque de Lapara
 27 Abraham da fonseca nasceu em 25 tamus 5467
 28 Semha da fonseca nasceu em 9 Elul 5469
-

O S^r Josseph de Aron Pereyra Pay dos q̄ Sigen

-
- 27 Tras o dia de seu Cazamento de d^{to} d Josseph Pereyra Com Debora da fonseca
 27 Aharon Pereyra nasceu em (6) 8 Junio 1708
 29 Sara Pereyra nasceu em 29 Abril 1710
 31 Semha Pereyra nasceu em 8 Junio 1712
-

f^o 29 O S^r Abraham de David franco Mendes Pay dos q̄ Sigen

-
- 29 Tras o dia do Cazamento de ditto A^m franco com Sara da fonseca
 32 David Franco Mendes nasceu em 12 Agosto 1713
 33 Raquel Franco Mendes nasceu em 13 Agosto 1715
 Simha Franco Mendes nasceu em 7 Junio 1717
 Issaque Franco Mendes nasceu em 7 Abril 1719
-

O S^r Daniel da Fonseca Pay dos que Sigenf. 31 Tras o dia do Cazamento de D^{to} Daniel da Fonseca com Ester franco Mendes.

- 32 Abraham da fonseca nasceu em 11 Novembro 1714
 33 Simha da fonseca nasceu em 8 febreiro 1716
 Raquel da fonseca nasceu em 13 abril 1717
 David da fonseca nasceu em P^o Jullio 1718
 Aron da fonseca nasceu em 23 febreiro 1720:

Arvore dos Geracoins da S^{ra} Minã Maem Simha Querida filla da S^r Diego dias Querido Alias Aharon Querido. E. netta do S^r Juaõ a Luiz de Crasto e de Izabela Vaz os quais Saõ de Alinto (?) eo Prinsipiado Des de 12 Outubro 1599: Por o Señor Jahacob Belmonte o qual Veyo da Illa da Madeira a o servicio de D^s de Israel A Compañado de sua Muller aqual se chamava Gimar Vaz, Alias Simha Belmonte dittos, estad emterados em Ouderkerk 2 oras de Amsterdam e dito Jacob Belmonte esta sepultado na Careyra: Sepultura em 19 Kislef 5390 E sua Consorte esta enterada na Careira: Sepultura dittos S^{ra} tineraõ os dez fillos seguntes a saber.

O S^r Jahacob Belmonte o qual Veio da Ilha da Madeyra a o Servicio de D^s de Israel P^a Amsterdam em 23 de Outubro do anno 1607. o qual teve os 10 fillos seguintes

N 1 Sara Belmonte — moreu solteyra

- 2 Sara Belmonte — Cazou Com Abraham Querido fillo de Juda a Luiz de Crasto etinerão: 3 fillos chamados. Jacob Querido, David Haim Querido e Aron Querido — De Jacob Querido prosedeo outros 3 Fillos chamados. Abraham, Issaque e Aron Querido — He de David Haim Querido — Prosedeo: 2 fillos chamados, Sara e Ab^m Querido — E de Aron Querido naõ sey dar Rezaõ y que moreu em Hamburgo Como seos Irmaõs e sobrinhõs y maior parte E por naõ saber os nomes de suas mulleres como tambem o q̄ de dittos foraõ prose-

dendo me obligon pelos a qui e não no Arvore pois seria fazer huma Couza Imperfeita.

- 3 Raquel Belmonte que cazou com Diego dias Querido alias Aharon Querido E fillo de Juaõ a Luiz de Crasto e de Izabela Vaz, dito Aharon Querido sobrinho do S^r Jacob Belmonte teve: 3 fillos chamados — Simha, Abraham e Mosse Querido.
- 4 David Belmonte o qual Cazou Com Ester Rachoa e tinerão: 2 fillos chamados: Sara e Jacob Belmonte
- 5 Ribca Belmonte — moreu solteyra
- 6 Jossphe Belmonte o qual cazou com Sara Vaz de Oliveyra e tinerão 3 fillos chamados: Jacob Simha e David Belmonte
- 7 Benjamin Belmonte o qual Cazou com Abigail Penso Feles e moreraõ sem Geraçaõ
- 8 Mossehe Belmonte — Levou Ds solteyro
- 9 Selomoh Belmonte — o qual Cazou com Raguel filla de Issaque de Daniel da fonseca e tinerão 2 fillos chamados: Jacob e Issaque Belmonte.
- 10 Semuel Belmonte o qual Cazou com Ribca Atias e tinerão 4 fillos chamados: Simha, Sara, Jacob e Michael Belmonte.

A Dita S^{ra} Raquel Belmonte que Cazou Com Seu Primo Diego dias querido alias Aharon Querido & fillo do Señor Juaõ a Luiz de Crasto & de Izabela Vaz — E tinerão os 3 fillos que seguen, ditos estaõ, sepultados em Ouderkerk: 2 oras de Amsterda no Bethaim Vella. E o dia de seos falecimento sepode ver Notado em dito Livro a opée do dia de seos nasim.

- Nº 1 Simha Querida A qual coizou com o Senhor Abraham de Issaque de Daniel da fonseca & tinerão 11 fillos chamados: Issaque, Angela Raquel, Debora, Aron, Daniel, Ester Sara, Jacob Hana e Selomoh da fonseca de que adiante sefaraõ menaõ.
- 2 Abraham Querido — o qual cazou com Debora filla de Issaque de Daniel da fonseca e moreraõ sem deyjar Geracaõ
 - 3 Mossehe Querido — Levou Ds Solteyro.

O Ditto Daniel Belmonte fillo de Jacob Belmonte o qual cazou com Ester Rachoa, etinerão 2 fillos os quais seguen a saber

- Nº 1 Sara Belmonte — Moreu solteyra
- 2 Jacob Belmonte o qual Cazou com Gracia Eregas — e tinerão 3 fillos chamados Daniel Sara e Ester Belmonte

O Ditto Josseph Belmonte fillo de Jacob Belmonte e qual cazou con Sara Vaz de Oliveyra e tinerão o 3 fillos q seguen.

- Nº 1 Jacob Belmonte moreu solteyro
- 2 Simha Belmonte que Cazou Com Abraham Escapa e não deiaraõ Sosesor.
 - 3 Daniel Belmonte — que Cazou com Raquel Gaon e não seve gerasaõ.

O Dito Selomoh Belmonte fillo de Jacob Belmonte o qual cazou com Raquel filla de Issaque de Daniel da fonseca e tinerão os 2 fillos seguintes a saber.

- Nº 1 Jacob Belmonte o qual cazou a Primeyra Vez Com Angela filla de Jacob Machoro de quem prosedeu huma filla chamada Angela como sua main q Ds Levou de Parto, E da Segunda mulher chamada Sara Abendana prosedeu tambeim 1 filla q chama Raquel Belmonte

Issaque Belmonte — o qual Cazou con Hana filla de Daniel de Issaque da fonseca e tinerão 5 fillos chamados, Selomoh Jacob, Raquel, Abraham e Lea Belmonte.

O Dito Semuel Belmonte fillo de Jacob Belmonte o qual Cazou Com Ribca Atias e tineraõ os 4 fillos Seguintes

- Nº 1 Simha Belmonte que Cazou com A^m Rafael moreraõ sem Gerasaõ
- 2 Sara Belmonte que Cazou com O Hasan David Abendana dita naõ teve Gerasaõ
- 3 Jacob Belmonte o qual Cazou Com Abigail de Mattos e tineraõ fillos que se chamaõ Ribca Semuel
- 4 Michael Belmonte moreu solteyro

A dita Senhora Minha Main Simha da fonseca filla da S^t Diego Dias Querido, Alias Aharon Querido, ho netta do S^t Juaõ a Luiz de Crasto e de Izabela Vaz a qual Cazou com meu Pay e S^t Abraham de Issaque de Daniel da fonseca Cujo S^t meu Pay esta enterado no Bethaim novo de Querkerek 2 oras de Amsterdam na Careyra: 13 Sepultura 3: em 7 Nisan 5471 e minha main e P^a esta a sepultada na Careyra: sepultura 4 em 20 de Veadar 5464: ditos Senhores meus Pais tineraõ 11 fillos os quas seguen a sabar

- Nº 1 Issaque da fonseca o qual Cazou com Raguel de Semuel de Lapara e tineraõ: fillos chamados, Abraham e Simha —
- 2 Angela da fonseca que cazou com Issaque fillo de Aron Hisquija Pereyra e netto de Tomas Rodrigues — Pereyra & Bisnetto de Antonio Pereyra e tineraõ hum fillo chamado Aron Pereyra e tineraõ hum fillo chamado Aron Pereyra Belmonte.
- 3 Raquel da fonseca — Levou Ds solteyra.
- 4 Debora da fonseca cazou com Josseph de Aron Hisguya Pereyra e netto de Tomas Rodriguez P^a e Bisnetto de Antonio Pereyra He tineraõ 3 fillos chamados Aron Sara e Simha Pereyra.
- 5 Aron da fonseca Cazou com Judica filla de Salamaõ Abarbanel Souza e netta do Semuel Abarbanel Souza.
- 6 Daniel da fonseca o qual cazou Com Ester filla de David Franco Mendes he netta de Ab^m Franco e bisnetta de Mordehay franco he tataraneta de Ab^m franco o velho e tineraõ fillos chamados Abraham Simha
- 7 Ester da fonseca moreu Solteyra
- 8 Sara Da fonseca que cazou com Abraham fillo de David franco Mendes e netto de Ab^m franco e bisnetto de Mordehey franco he tatara netto de Ab^m franco O Velho e tineraõ fillos chamados Daniel Raguel.
- 9 Jacob da Fonseca . . .
- 10 Hana da Fonseca . . .
- 11 Salamaõ da fonseca . . . moreu Solteyro.

COPIA DO LIVRO DAS GERASOIMS

Prinsipiado y O Señor

JAHACOB BELMONTE

Desde o Anno 1599.

Orasão

O dixo Jahacob Dio de my Padre Abraham y dio de my Padre Ishak: A: el que dixo amy torna a tu Tierra y a tu nasimento Fare Bien contigo: Génesis Cap. 32 Verso 7: y Fueron hijos: de Jahacob (Belmonte) Dies ytransiose Jahacob (Belmonte) y muriose y fue apanhad^o a sus Pueblos, Viego & De 60 annos jenteraron a el sus Yisos em Bethaim de Amsterdam no anno de 5390 em 19 Kislef el Dio lo perdone e tenga su alma na Gloria amen etc. y esta sepultado na Careyra no. 9 Sepultura no. Bethaim Vello.

Os fillos que tene detto Jacob Belmonte saõ os seguintes a saber
 em 23 Outubro 1607 Sara
 em 12 Setembro 1608 Sara
 em 10 febreYRO 1610 Raquel
 em 29 Abril 1612 David
 em 23 Novembro 1613 Ribca
 em 3 dezembro 1614 Jossephe
 em 20 janeyro 1616 Binjamin
 em 28 Setembro 1619 Mossehe
 em 29 Janeyro 1621 Selomho
 em P^{ro} Janeyro 5383 Semuel

1599

Orasão Feyta y o S^r Jacob Belmonte Estando na Illa da Madeiro

Estando na Illa da Madeira em 12 de Outubro da era de 1599: Pedy ao Altissimo D^s. de Israel com m^{ta} comfiansa e devocão hua merse particularissima, e persuadido q̄ na Piadade foy servido consederma, e conhes y m^{to} daqual lhe dou e darey sempre Infinitas Grasas juntamente com alguns servisos que prometo aquais premita elle sey-dão a ceitos e me de grassa Fonão ofender jamais e p^a com emtranas de amor divino lhe ser agradesido a estas contras m^{tas} mais resebidas de sua mão omnipotente a tempo de moraperto as quis me tem posto em esperansas de mellorar a Vida e não Ser yngratto nela ache e alcanse, com sua misericórdia com sua grassa Gloria p^a o q̄ fuy Criado etc.

As Verdadeyras Palavras, asima escreuy na Illa da Madeyra em hum Papel no mesmo dia de 12 de Outubro 1599 e por estar Rotto o passy a quy em Amsterdam 23 de Outubro de 1607: el dio me Asista p^a poder merecerlhe as prosperidades, o presente e o por vir etc.

1607

Em 23 de 8^{re} 1607 annos hua tersa f^a entre as 6 e as 7 oras da tarde me de o o S^r hua filla a q̄ pus nome Sara fassa o D^s Bemaventurada em 26 d^o mes alevou o S^r p^a Sy.

5368

Em 12 de Setembro de 1608 q̄ foy sesta feyra segundo dia de Rosasana entres as 10 e as 11 oras do dia medeo nosso S^r hua filla a que pus y nome Sara como apasada esta trua p^a servir a D^s, faleco em 23 de Elul 5392.

Em 10 fevreyro 1610 foy quarta f^a a 6 datarde me deo o S^r hua filla a q̄ pus nome Rachel permita elle fazela sua serva.

1681: 8 feuto.

5441. Em 20 de Sebat em Sabat as 4-1/2 oras da tarde foy el dio servido necolher p^a sy no^a. S^r. D^a. Rachel querida a q^m. dy sepultura a os peis de seos Pais Jacob e Simha Belmonte ficando junto de seo fillo Ab^m querido — estava firmado y — Ab^m dafonseca.

Careyra No. 10 Sepultura No.

1612/5372

Em 29 de Abril elgão a noite depois de ter contado 13 de homer do ano da Criação 5372 sendo entre as 8. e. 9 oras da noute, me deo o S^r. hum fillo q̄ Circunsidney em 7 de mayo q̄ forão 21 do homer, elle pus y nome David el dio o fassa Bemaventurado em todo e o deixe viver m^{tos}, anno sem seo santo servio e cercunsiderão Selomoh touro en o tiue no colo. el Dio o tenha sempre de sua mão elle seya propicio fazendo lhe grandes misricordias com temer lhe sera sempre & faleceu —

os fillos q̄ teue ditto David Belmonte q̄ cazou com Ester Rachoa sao seguintes a saber

em 18 Nisan 5394: Sara, dita moreu solteyra

em 11 Novembro 1635 Jacob.

1613/5374

Em 23 de Novembro do anno 1613 em Sabat as 11 oras do dia Venda da Esnoga me deo o S^r. hua filla a que pus y nome Ribca o S^r. a fassa Bemaventurada em todo e a deixe viver em seo servio m^{tos}. anos, moreu solteyra.

Em 23 de febr^o. de 1614 a levou o S^r p^a Sy. . . .

1614/5375

Em 3 de dezembro Ultimo dia de Hanuca que foy quarta f^{ra} a hua ora de pois da mea noute amafesente p^a a quinta, me deo o S^r hum fillo q̄ circunsidney em 11 de ditto mes dezembro elle pus y nome Joseph teue o nocolo o S^r H. H. Josseph Pardo foy Comadre a S^{ra}. no^a Irma Dona Ester, serconsidono Isaque Farque o S^r offassa justo em todos seus caminhos e bemaventurado em tudo dandolhe Larga e alegre Vida etc.

o fillos que teve ditto Joseph Belmonte ^q cazou com Sara Vaz de Oliveyra são os seguintes a saber

em 12 Sebat 5415 Jacob

em 2 Nisan 5416 Simha

em P^{ro} 5417 David

1616

Em 20 de Janeyro hua tersa feyra a noutte as 11-1/2 oras da noute amañesente p^a quarta q̄ forão Vinte dias do ditto mez de Janeyro, me deo o S^r. hum Fillo q̄ sercunsidney a os 27 de ditto mes elle pus y nome Benjamin tine o en nocolo foy Comadre a S^{ra}. Irma Debora Massia circunsidou Aharon Levy el Dio mo fassa Justo em todos seus Camynhos e Bemaventurado e o fassa seo servo y Largos annos de vida etc.

Levou Ds. o dito Sem Jersão.

20 tysri 5380 da Criação 1619 do Galut q̄ sera Ultimo Besrat a el. . . . Em 28 Setembro da Erra q̄ se Conta 1619 e da erra 5380 20 tisry em Sabat Vespóra de Osanaraba Sendo entre nove e dez Oras de pelamaña medeo o S^r do mundo hum fillo de Cujo nasimento me forão pedir as alviseras a esnoga Circunsidney nella Sabat Berecit e Pus lhe nome Mosseh foy madrinha a S^{ra} Dona Ester no^a Irma circumcidou o S^r Izaque farque el dio o faza seo servo e perfeito em todos seos enemigos etc., moreu solteyro.

5381—1621

Em 29 de Janeyro da erra que se conta de 1621 q̄ são de verdadeyra da Criasão do mundo 5381 huma sesta feira pelamaña as 6 oras medeo el Dio hum fillo o qual circunsidney em caza y ser dia muyto frio em 5 de febreiro pus lhe nome Selomoh foy madrinha a S^{ra} Minha Maym Dona Sara Belmonte circunsidou o O S^r Issaque fareques o altissimo Dio de Israel mo fassa seo temente sabio em sua Ley observante (virar q̄ sige) nella, abensoado em tudo p^a com seos Irmãos dilatarem o Culto de D^s sobre toda a terra e podestarem y mandado seo sobre todos nossos enemigos em seus dias e nossos Vejamos obem de A: e ajerusalaim Redeficada e a David Reynante nela p^a sempre de sempre Amen. A Circunsicão foy em 5 de febr^o 6 a feyra 14 de Roshodes Sebat. etc.

Os fillos q̄ teve ditto Selomoh Belmonte são os seguntes o qual cazou com Raquel de Issaque Belmonte: em 9 Sebat 5424 Jacob em 22 tebet 5425 Issaque.

5383 da Criasão e do Captiveyro q̄ sera o Ultimo 1623 Em primeiro de Janeyro Sebat de Sente, as dez oras da noite me deo o S^r do mundo hum fillo que Sercunsidney a os 8 dias do mesmo mez elgão as 10 Oras do dia na Esnoga de Bet Jacob em se acabando a teffila tiveo no Colo circunsidou o S^r Issaque farque foy madrinha a S^{ra} Dona Sarah Cardoza mulher do S^r Daniel Cardozo pus lhe y nome q̄ goze m^{tos} anos Semuel el Dio o fassa seo Servo e o ousa em todas suas oraçoims elle responda sempre com piadades e o fassa Bemaventurado em todo, o mesmo o[s] seos Progenitores e Irmãos e achegados em seos dias venha a Salv[a]são a Israel e redeficacão do templo e Cidade do S^r. . . . a the a qui escreve Jacob Belmonte.

Os fillos q̄ teve dito Semuel Belmonte q̄ cazou Raguel Atias são os seguintes a saber.

em 7 Sebat 5424 Simha
em 9 Adar 5426 Sara
em 19 Nisan 5420 Jacob

5390 em 19 Janeyro Sabat de madrugada no mez de tebet, Deo o S^r hum fillo a Ab^m Querido o qual he Primugenito elle Pos por nome Jacob e o cercunsidou Issaque farques e foy madrinha Dona Rachel Amalagem el dio o fasa Bemaventurado e viva em seo servissio com grandes felisidades m^{tos} annos. Foy Redemido pelo S^r Ab^m Cohen lobato.

os fillos que teve dito Jacob querido são os seguintes a saber
em 21 Sebat 5414 Abraham
em 11 Ilesvan 5 Issaque
em 2 Tebet 5421 Aron.

5392

em 19 de Mayo me deo o S^r hum fillo a quem Pais por nome David e foy madrinha no^a Prima Raquel querida el dio o fassa seo servo e vive nelle m^{tos} annos etc.

Os fillos q̄ teve ditto David querido são os seguintes
em 4 Tamus 5427: Sara.

5399—1639

Em 1^o de Veadar do anno da Criasão do mundo 5399 que foy em 6 de Marco 1639 em Saliente de Sabat as 10 oras 1/2 da Noite Deo el Dio hum fillo a o S^r Abraham querido q̄ cercunsidou a os 8 dias q̄ forão 14 de Marco e 9 de Veador pelo S^r H. H. David Pardo elle Pos por nome Aharon foy madrinha sua prima Dona Raguel querida e neste anno se aguntarão (Sige)

As 3: Congregasois desta Amsterdam el dio o fassa seo Servo eperfeyto em seus Caminhos p^a que meresa levantar o nome de seu Pay que el Dio foy servido Levar para si no Anno 5400 a 28 de tebet sua memoria seya y Bensão.

Como este Aron querido fillo de Ab^m querido moreu em Hamburgo e não: sey os fillos que deixou me resolouy a y os dittos fillos que teve Abraham Querido seu Pay Pois esta a quy o Dia de seu falecimento a ber.

em 19 Janeyro 5390 Jacob
em 19 Mayo 5392 David
em 6 Marco 1639 Aron

5394

Em 18 de Nisan 3 do Homer 16 de Abril Pela menha as 3 oras medeu el Dia hua filla a que Pus por nome Sara. Deus a faza Bemaventurada e sua serva.

Esta faleseu no P^{ro} dia de Sebuot do anno 5396 — etc. moreu solteyra.

Estava firmado David Belmonte

5396 da Criação do mundo
1635 Do Galut

Em Roshodes Kislev 11 de novembre domingo de madrugada as 4-1/2 Oras me dio el dio hum fillo que serconsidey a os 8 dias do mesmo mez domingo as 10 Oras serconsidou o o S^r Issaque farque heu o teve no Colo e a S^{ra} Minha May Simha Belmonte foy Madrynha pus lhe y nome que goze Muytos annos Jacob, el dio o faza seu Servo he o Ousa em todas suas oracois respondendo lhe sempre compiadades hem seus dias Cos nosos venha o noso Masiah.

Os fillos q̄ teve ditto Jacob Belmonte q̄ cazou com Gasia Erg^{as} são os seguintes
em.....David
em 27 Sebat 5428 Sara.....Ester.
estava firmado David Belmonte.

5405—1645

em 20 de Elul que forão 11 Setembro a o amanheser as 6 oras da minha medeu el Dio Bendito hua filla a Cabo de 17 annos de Cazadoz elle a fasa sua serva, Pus lhe y nome Semha querida como sua Avo que el Dio perdoe, e a ella en grandesa e nos de Remedio foy sua madrinha Minha tia Dona ester Jesurun, etc.

a o virar a folha, esta o dia de seu falecimento da S^{ra}. Simha.
Estava firmado Aharon Querido.

em 20 de Veadar 5464 quarta feyra a tarde as 6 oras setransportou desta Vida minha alegre, e querida Companhia de 36 annos de Cazada Devotissima echeia de Oracoins e Rogativas Abendisoando 3 dias antes todos nosos fillos Epedindo a Seu Criador a the o ultimo transe mesricordia e como hum anjo deu alma a seu Criador Bendito e lê premita goze de sua eterna Gloria como me permetem suas Pias e devotas obras como mere seu neste Mundo. Amsterdam 26 Marco 1704 etc. a f^o 16 esta tamby seu falecimento de Baixo do dia de seu noyvado etc.

Estava firmado Abraham da fonseca.
(Como Marido)

5407 da Criação do mundo A^o 1647

em 25 de Veadar que foy Pro de Abril segunda f^a. a 6-1/2 oras da menha medeo el Dio Bendito hum fillo q̄ seja Besimantob que sercunsidey a os 8 dias de seu nasimento q̄ forão tres de Nisan foy sua madrinha A S^{ra} Dona Rahel Querida no^a Irma. tiveo en no Colo e serconsidaro no^{os} SS^{res}. Haham Roby David Pardo e Doutor Isshak Semah Abuaf Pus lhe y nome q̄ gose muytos annos Abraham Querido como meu Irmão que el Dio perdoe el Dio o abensoe e o faza grande sabio em sua Ley e temente. Faleseu este Bemaventurado de Ab^m Querido em noite de Simha Tora a 23 Tisry 5436 Solteyro.

Esta sepultado na Careyra No. 10 Bethaim Vello.

5409 da Criação do Mundo

Em 27 de Hesvan quinta feyra q̄ forão 12 de Novembre das 4 p^a. as 4-1/2 Oras da menha me fes el Dio Benditto merce de medar hu fillo de que fis a Sura Sabat Seginte

em Con p^a. de Outras tres Berityot q̄ foy a p^{ra}. vez que a Conte seu neste: K. K. de Talmut Tora aver 4 Beritiot juntos chamaron me a sefere no verso que diz Bendisertee Imucheguaré tu semen y Amon de Ab^m. miservo e 8 dias depois de seu nasimento q̄ foy 4 de Kislef quinta f^{ra}. que forão 19 de gob^{re}. o serconsidey em Cassa. tiveo en no Colo serconsidaron os SS^{rs}. H. H. Reby David pardo e o Dotor Ishak Semah Abuaf foy sua madrinha hua Menina filla do St. Jacob Belmonte pus lhe y nome Mosse querido el Dio o engrandesa e faza grande servo e temente seu e querido de todos e Botte sobre elle todas as Bensoys q̄ noso Pay Ishak Nesta Parasa Botou sobre seu fillo Jacob Em seus Dios e de sevos. Irmãos e nossoz seja salva Jeuda e venha o Bem que esperamos amen.

Estava firmado Aron Querido.

De Jacob Querido fillo de Abraham Querido Netto de Jacob Belmonte

Em 21 de Sebat do anno da Criasão do mundo 5414 em 10 Janeyro de 1654 naseo hum fillo a Jacob Querido que serconsidou a os 8 dias elhe pos y nome Abraham que goze m^{tos}. annos.

em 11 de Hesvan nasseo Outro fillo a ditto querido que serconsidou a os 8 dias elhe pos por nome q̄ goze muitos annos Ischac como seu tio Irmão de sua Main q̄ moreo queymado Vivo pelo nome de Ds. em Lisboa.

5421

em 2 tebet a noite entre as 8 e as 9 Salinte Hanuca naseu Outro fillo a o dito Jacob querido em Zelanda a quem pos por nome Aharon y o sercunsidou Jacob Hamis doxta a os 9 dias y não poder chega mays sedo el Dio o abensoe e o faza seu servo etc.

De Selomoh Fillo de Jacob Belmonte que Deus tem 5424: 1664 em Hamburgo —

em 9 de Sebat e 4 de febreYRO naseu hum fillo a Selomoh Belmonte que sercunsidou a os 8 dias y lhe pos y nome Jacob.

os fillos q̄ teve dito Jacob Belmonte o qual cazou com Angela de Jacob Machoro e com Sara Abendana y a Segunda ves são os seguinte Angela Belmonte y vaver morto a may de parto . . . e Raquel Belmonte.

5425—1665

em 22 de tebet 30 Janeyro naseu outro fillo a dito Selomoh Belmonte que sercunsidou a os 8 dias elhe pos y nome Ischek como seu avô de Parte de may el Dio o fassa seu servo sirconsidou Selomoh Curiel em Hamburgo.

os fillos que teve dito Issaque Belmonte q̄ cazou com Hana de Daniel dafonseca são os seguintes a saber: Jacob, Raquel, Abraham, Léa e Selomho.

De Jossephe Belmonte fillo de Jacob Belmonte Em 12 Sebat do anno da Criasão do mundo 5415 naseu hum fillo a Ditto Josseph Belmonte que sercunsidou a os 8 diaz y lhe pos y nome Jacob. moreu Solteyro.

5416

Em 2 de Nysan naseo a ditto Josseph Belmonte hua filla a que pos por nome que goze muitos annos Simha Dita Simha cazou com Ab^m Escapa e morerão [sem] Sosesor.

Nisan P^{ro}. 5417

Outro fillo a ditto Josseph Belmonte que sirconsidou a os 8 dias elhe chamou David. em 31 jancyro 1717: Faleseu este Bemaventurado e não deyjou Sosesor etc. o teve cazado com Raguel Gaon.

De Semuel, Fillo de Jacob Belmonte a 5424: 1664 em 7 de Sebat e 2 de Febreyro naseu huma filla a Semuel Belmonte a queim pos por nome e goze m^{tos} annos Simha. Dita Simha cazou com Ab^m Rafael e morerão sem Jeracão.

em 9 de adar de 5426 em Alehat as 5 Oras da tarde nasseo outra filla a Semuel Belmonte a qual pos por nome que Goze muitos annos Sarah em 9 de Adar Risson Dita Sara cazou com David a Benata o Hazan moreu Sem Jeracão.

Em 19 de Nisan 5428 naseu hum Fillo a Semuel Belmonte que sercunsidou a os 8 dias y mão de David Judah Leão o emgrandesa e o fassa seu servo Pos lhe por nome que goze muitos annos Jacob. Os fillos q̄ teve dito Jacob Belmonte q̄ cazou com Abigail de Mattos são os seguintes a saber, Ribca: Semuel.

De David Haim Querido fillo de Abraham e Sara querido Em 4 de tamus do anno 5427 em 26 Junio em Alchad naseo em Amburgo a o ditto David Haim querido huma filla a queim pos por nome Sarah el Dio a deixe Viver elhe de muitos Remedios.

Em 18 Tamus 5433 Levou Ds: para si a o S^r Aharon querido e Pay meu que Goze da Eterna Gloria esta sepultado na Caryra

os fillos que dito S^r.
Aron querido teve são os
seguintes em 11 Setembro 1645
Simha

em 25 Veadar 5407 Abraham d^{to}. moreu sem jerasão
em 27 Hesvon 5409 Mosse moreu solteyro.

Isto estan escrto y o Sr
meu Pay Abraham da fonseca
mas não firmado.

De Jacob Belmonte fillo de David Belmonte netto de Jacob Belmonte lhe naseo hum fillo que sercuncidou a os 8 dias por mão de . . . y lhe pos y nome que goze muitos annos. David.

5428 em 27 Sebat naseo a o Ditto Jacob Belmonte huma filla que lhe Pos por nome que goze muitos annos Sarah.

APPENDIX X

EXTRACTS FROM THE "CIVILSTANDSREGISTER" OF THE CITY OF ALZEY

No. 1.

AUSZUG AUS DEM CIVILSTANDSREGISTER DER STADT ALZEY VOM JAHRE 1859

No. 113. Im Jahre eintausend achthundert neun und fünfzig, den dreissigsten November um zehn Uhr Vormittags sind vor mir Georg Mayer, Bürgermeister, Civilstandsbeamten der Gemeinde Alzey, Friedengerichtsbezirk Alzey, erschienen 1., Simon Mayer, Kaufmann, ein und fünfzig Jahre alt, in Alzey wohnhaft, nicht verwandt, als Bekannter, und

2., Peter Schneider der erste, Handarbeiter, zwei und sechsig Jahre alt, in Alzey wohnhaft, nicht verwandt, als Bekannter, und haben mir erklärt, dass Simon Belmont der erste, Gutsbesitzer, siebenzig Jahre zehn Monate alt, Wittwer von der dahier verstorbenen Friederike geborne Elsas, geboren zu Alzey, wohnhaft zu Alzey, dessen Eltern sind:

1.) Aron Isaac im Leben Rentner und dessen Ehefrau Gertrude, geborne Lorch, ersterer in Alzey, letztere in Frankfurt am Main verstorben, den dreissigsten November achtzehnhundert neun und fünfzig um sieben Uhr des Morgens in dem Hause Lit. A. Nr. 33. in der St. Georgenstrasse gestorben ist, und haben die Erklärenden gegenwärtigen Akt, nachdem ihnen solcher vorgelesen worden, mit mir unterschrieben.

Die Declaranten:

SIMON MAYER,

PETER SCHNEIDER I.

Stempel: Gr. Hess.

Bürgermeisterei

Alzey.

GG. MAYER.

Für richtigen Auszug

Alzey, den 26 Juli 1895.

Grosshl. Bürgermeisterei Alzey

W. SUTOR.

No. 2.

AUSZUG AUS DEM STERBEREGISTER DER KREISSTADT ALZEY VOM JAHRE 1821.

No. 51. Im Jahre eintausend achthundert ein und zwanzig, den neunten Juni um elf Uhr Morgens sind vor mir Christian Conradj, Bürgermeister, Civilstands-Beamten der Gemeinde von Alzey, Kanton von Alzey, erschienen:

Hr. Peter Lerner, Rechtspraktikant, vier und zwanzig Jahre alt, und Hr. Heinrich Wolff, Kaufmann, neun und zwanzig Jahre alt, beide Nachbarn der Verlebten, und in

Alzey wohnhaft, welche mir erklärt haben, dass Friederike Belmont, geborne Elsass, ein und dreissig Jahre alt, gebürtigt von Mannheim, Ehefrau des hinterlassenen hier wohnhaften Handelsmannes Hrn. Simon Belmont, und Tochter des in Mannheim verlebten Joseph Elsass, heute den neunten Juni um zwei Uhr des Morgens in dem Hause Nro. 39. in der Sanct Georgen-Strasse dahier, gestorben ist, und haben die Erklärenden gegenwärtigen Akt, nachdem solcher ihnen vorgelesen worden, mit mir unterschrieben.

J. P. LEMERZ.

HEINRICH WOLFF.

CONRADJ.

Stempel:

Für richtigen Auszug:

Gr. Hess.

Alzey, den 17. Oktober 1895.

Bürgermeisterei

Grossherzogliche Bürgermeisterei

Alzey.

Alzey

W. SUTOR.

No. 3.

AUSZUG AUS DEM GEBURTSREGISTER DER KREISSTADT ALZEY VOM JAHRE 1813

No. 114.

L'an mil huit cent treize, le huit Décembre à deux heures de relevée pardevant nous François Rollet Maire Officier de l'état civil de la commune d'Alzey, canton d'Alzey, département du Mont-Tonnerre, est comparu Simon Belmont, négociant, âgé de Vingt quatre ans demeurant à Alzey lequel nous a présenté un enfant du sexe Masculin, né Cejourd'hui à Midi de lui déclarant et de Frédérique née Elsass son épouse, et auquel il a déclaré vouloir donner le prénom de Aron.

Les dites déclaration et présentation faites en présence de Gaspard Andres, âgé de cinquante trois ans, Adjoint, demeurant à Bechenheim et de Henri Winterling, mesureur de grains, âgé trente quatre ans demeurant à Alzey et ont les père et témoins signé avec nous le présent acte de naissance, après qu'il leur en a été fait lecture.

S. BELMONT.

ANDRES Adjunct.

HEINRICH WINDERLING.

ROLLET

Für richtigen Auszug:

Alzey den 21. Oktober, 1895,

Grossherzogliche Bürgermeisterei, Alzey.

No. 4.

AUSZUG AUS DEM GEBURTSREGISTER DER KREISSTADT ALZEY VOM JAHRE 1819

No. 36. Im Jahre ein tausend acht hundert und neunzehn, den zweiten April um zehn Uhr des Morgens ist vor mir Carl Emele, Oberbürgermeister, Civilstands-Beamten der Gemeinde von Alzey Kanton von Alzey, Grossherzogthum Hessen und bei Rhein —

Herr Joseph Florian Belmont, acht und zwanzig Jahre alt, Handelsmann, in Alzey wohnhaft, erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, dass den ersten April, gestern um drei Uhr des Nachmittags ein Kind weiblichen Geschlechts, und welches Kind derselbe mir vorgezeigt, geboren sei, welchem er den Vornamen Elizabeth zu geben erkläret, und welches Kind von Frau Friederike Belmont, geborene Elsass, Ehefrau von Herrn Simon

Belmont, Handelsmann in Alzey wohnhaft, gezeugt ist, welches Kind in dem den genannten Eltern angehörigen, in der St. Georgen Strasse gelegenen Hause geboren worden ist.

Diese Erklärung und Vorzeigung ist in Gegenwart der Zeugen Herrn Jacob Schüler, Handelsmann, sechs und vierzig Jahre alt, und Philipp Koch, Stadtdiener, vier und fünfzig Jahre alt, beide in Alzey wohnhaft, geschehen, und haben der Erschienenen und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsakt, nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

JOSEPH FLORIAN BELMONT.

JACOB SCHUELER.

PHILIPP KOCH.

EMELE.

Für richtigen Auszug:
Alzey, den 21. Oktober, 1895.
Grossherzogliche Bürgermeisterei Alzey.
W. SUTOR.

Stempel
Gr. Hess. Bürger-
meisterei, Alzey.

No. 5.

AUSZUG AUS DEM GEBURTSREGISTER DER KREISSTADT ALZEY
VOM JAHRE 1820

No. 76. Im Jahre ein tausend achthundert und zwanzig, den dreizehnten Juni um neun Uhr des Morgens ist vor mir Christian Conrad, Bürgermeister, Civilstands-Beamten der Gemeinde von Alzey Kanton von Alzey, Grossherzogthum Hessen und bei Rhein, Herr Simon Belmont, Handelsmann und Gutsbesitzer, dreissig Jahre alt, in Alzey wohnhaft, erschienen, welcher mir erkläret hat, dass den dreizehnten Juni, heute um fünf Uhr des Morgens ein Kind männlichen Geschlechts, und welches Kind derselbe mir vorgezeigt, geboren sei, welchem er den Vornamen Joseph zu geben erklärt und sich für den Vater dieses Kindes welches er mit seiner Ehefrau Frederike Elsass gezeugt hat, anerkennt; welches Kind in dem ihm angehörigen, in der St. Georgen Strasse dahier gelegenen Hause geboren worden ist.

Diese Erklärung und Vorzeigung ist in Gegenwart der Zeugen, Herrn Felix Perrot, Gutsbesitzer, vier und zwanzig Jahre alt, und Herrn Carl Theodor Henes, Stadtschreiber, sechs und zwanzig Jahre alt, beide in Alzey wohnhaft, geschehen, und haben der Vater und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsakt, nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

S. BELMONT.

F. PERROT.

TH. HENES.

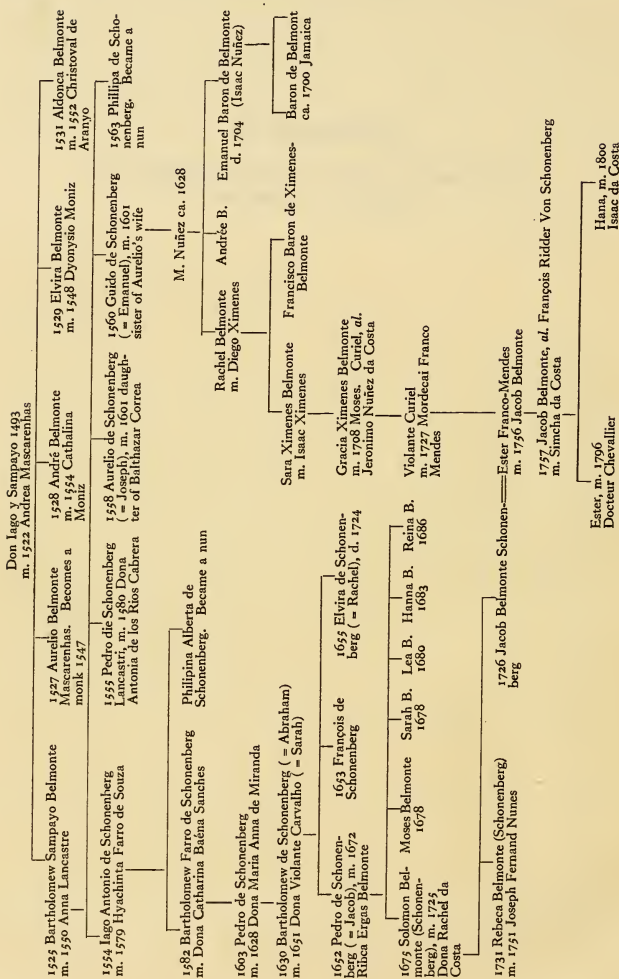
CONRAD.

Für richtigen Auszug:
Alzey, den 21. Oktober, 1895.
Grossherzogliche Bürgermeisterei, Alzey.

Stempel
Gr. Hess. Bürger-
meisterei, Alzey.

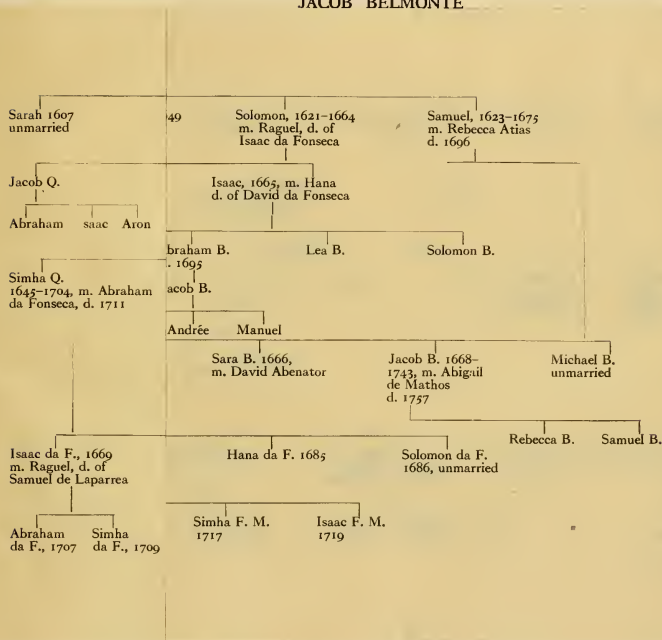
W. SUTOR.

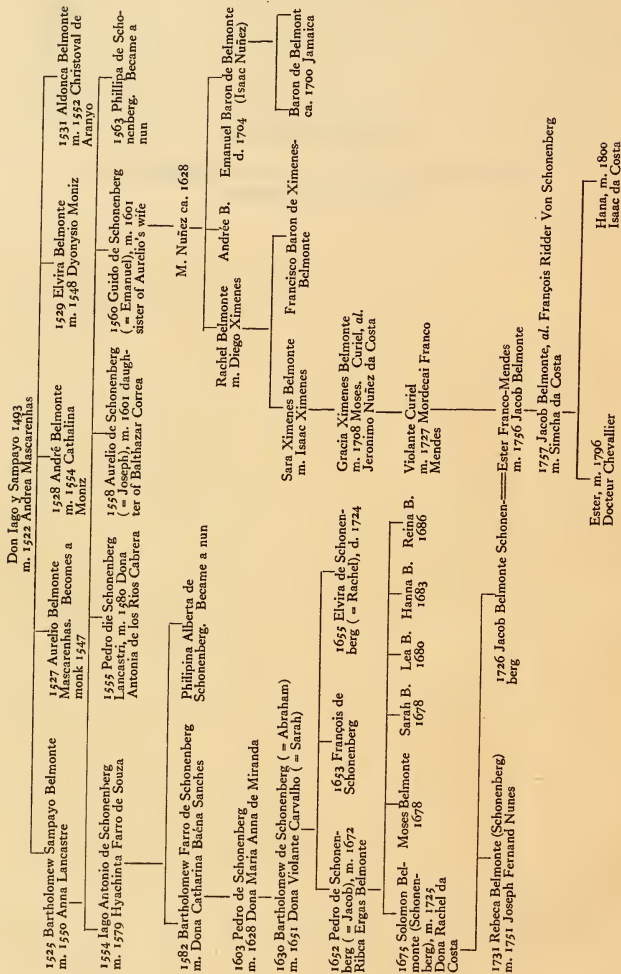
APPENDIX XI
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF
DON IAGO Y SAMPAYO

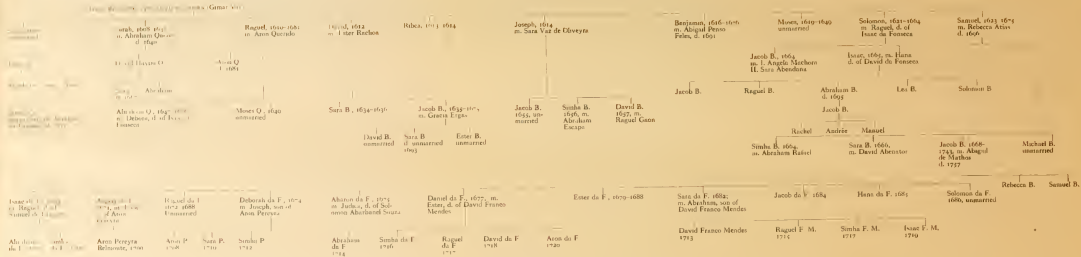


APPENDIX XII

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF JACOB BELMONTE







1525 Bartholome
m. 1550 Anna Le

1584 Iago Antoni
m. 1579 Hyachir

1582 Bartholome
m. Dona Cathar

1603 Pedro de S
m. 1628 Dona M

1630 Bartholome
m. 1651 Dona V

1652 Pedro de S
berg (= Jacob),
Ribca Ergas Bel

1675 Solomon B
monte (Schonen
berg), m. 1725
Dona Rachel da
Costa

1731 Rebecca Bel
m. 1751 Joseph

onte
to Noniz
1531 Aldenca Belmonte
m. 1552 Christoval de
Aranyo

honenberg
1691
wife
1563 Philippa de Scho-
nenberg. Became a
nun

iez ca. 1628

ée B.
1704
Emanuel Baron de Belmonte
(Isaac Nuñez)

ron de Ximenes-
ca. 1700 Jamaica
Baron de Belmonte

der Von Schonenberg

Hana, m. 1800
Isaac da Costa

APPENDIX XII

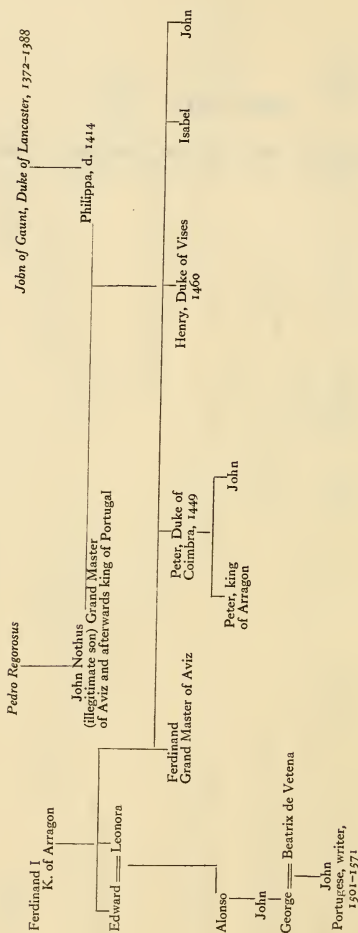
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF JACOB BELMONTE

APPENDIX XIII

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE BELMONT FAMILY IN ALZEY

APPENDIX XIV

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE LANCASTER FAMILY



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